

KELLY'S KEYS TO THE CLASSICS.

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THE

ANABASIS OF XENOPHON.

BOOKS I. TO III.

Literally Translated.

BY

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THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

1. OF Darius and Parysatis are born two sons ; the elder, indeed, Artaxerxes, but the younger Cyrus. But when Darius was becoming infirm and suspected the end of his life, he wished that both his sons should be present with him.

2. The elder, indeed, [just then] happened to be present ; but he sends for Cyrus, from the government over which he had made him satrap, and he had also appointed him as commander of all [the forces], as many as are [usually] collected into the plain of Castolus. Accordingly, Cyrus goes up, taking Tissaphernes as a friend ; but he went up, having three hundred heavy-armed men of the Greeks also, and the leader of them Xenias, the Parrhasian.

3. But when Darius died, and Artaxerxes was established on the throne [*lit.* kingdom], Tissaphernes falsely accuses Cyrus before his brother, asserting that [*lit.* how] he is plotting against him. But he both is prevailed upon and he arrests Cyrus, as intending to kill him ; but their mother having begged him off, sends him back again to his government.

4. But when he departed, having incurred danger and being dishonoured, he considers how he shall never again be in the power of his brother, but, if he is able, he shall reign instead of him. But Parysatis their mother supported [the cause of] Cyrus, loving him more than the ruling monarch, Artaxerxes.

5. But whichever of those [sent] from the king came to him, he used to send them all away, treating them in such a manner that they should be friendly to himself rather than

to the king. And he took pains with the barbarians also in his own service [*lit.* with himself], that they might both be competent to make war, and might be of a favourable disposition towards him.

6. But he was gathering together the Grecian force, concealing it [*i.e.* his plan] as carefully as he could, in order that he might take by surprise the king as unprepared as possible. In this way, then, he made his levy: as many garrisons as he had in the cities, he commanded their several [*lit.* each of] leaders, to take [*i.e.* to enlist] Peloponnesian men as many as possible and the best [soldiers], on the pretence that [*lit.* as if] Tissaphernes was plotting against these cities; for the Ionian cities had formerly belonged to Tissaphernes, having been given to him by the king; but then they all had revolted to Cyrus, except Miletus.

7. But at Miletus, Tissaphernes perceiving beforehand that they were planning the same things, [*viz.*] to revolt to Cyrus, killed some of them and banished others. But Cyrus, having taken up [*i.e.* having received or harboured] the fugitives [*lit.* those who were fleeing], and having collected an army, was besieging Miletus both by land and by sea, and was attempting to restore those who had been driven out. And this again was another excuse for him for collecting an army. 8. Sending to the king, he requested, as being his brother, that these cities should be assigned to him, rather than that Tissaphernes should rule over them, and their mother co-operated with him in these things [*lit.* did these things along with him], so that the king did not detect the plot against himself, but he thought that he [*i.e.* Cyrus], being at war with Tissaphernes, was incurring expense about his armies, so that he was in no respect annoyed at their being engaged in war, for Cyrus also used to send [regularly] the tribute accruing to the king from the cities which Tissaphernes happened to possess.

9. But another army was being gathered together for him in the Chersonesus, [which lies] over against Abydos, in this manner. Clearchus was a Lacedæmonian exile, and Cyrus having become acquainted with him, both admired him, and gives him ten thousand darics. But he, having received the money, collected an army by means of [*lit.* from] these resources, and starting from [*i.e.* having made his head-quarters in] the Chersonesus, he began to wage war upon the Thracians dwelling beyond [*or, over*] the Hellespont, and he assisted

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the Greeks, so that also the cities of the Hellespont willingly joined in collecting money for him for the maintenance of the soldiers. Thus, again, this army being supported for him escaped observation. 10. But Aristippus the Thessalian happened to be his guest-friend, and having been oppressed by those of the opposite party at home, he comes to Cyrus, and asks him for mercenaries to [the number of] two thousand, and pay for *three* months, as if he would in that case [*lit. thus*] become superior to his adversaries. But Cyrus gives him [soldiers] to the number of four thousand and pay for six months, and he requests him not to end [the war] with his adversaries before that he should consult with him [*i.e.* Cyrus]. Thus, then, again, in Thessaly, the army being supported for him escaped observation. 11. But he ordered Proxenus the Bœotian, being his guest-friend, having taken men as many as possible, to come, as if [he were] wishing to make an expedition against the Pisidians, as if the Pisidians were giving trouble to his own territory. But Sophœnetus the Stymphalian, and Socrates the Achæan, these also being his guest-friends, he ordered, that having taken men as many as possible, they should come to him, as if, along with the exiles of the Milesians, he intended to make war against Tissaphernes. And these did so.

CHAPTER II.

1. But when it seemed expedient to him now to proceed upwards, he made it his pretext as if [he were] wishing to drive out the Pisidians altogether from the country, and he collects as if against them both the barbaric and the Grecian army there, and he sends orders both to Clearchus to come, having taken as great an army as he had, and to Aristippus [that] having been reconciled with those at home, he should send back to him the army which he had; and [he sent orders] to Xenias the Arcadian, who had been commanding for him the foreign [*or* mercenary force] in the cities, to come, having taken men, except as many as were sufficient to guard the citadels.

2. He summoned also those besieging Miletus, and he ordered the refugees to undertake the expedition along with

him, promising them, if he should succeed in effecting [the purposes] for which he was going on the expedition, that he would not cease before he would bring them home. But they gladly obeyed him, for they trusted him; and having taken up their arms they arrived at Sardis. 3. But Xenias accordingly, having taken [the forces] from the cities to [the number of] four thousand heavy-armed men, came to Sardis. And Proxenus was present, having heavy-armed soldiers to [the number of] five hundred and a thousand, and five hundred light-armed troops; and Sophœnetus the Stymphalian having a thousand heavy-armed men, and Socrates the Achæan having heavy-armed men to [the number of] about five hundred, and Pasion the Megarean came, having three hundred heavy-armed men and three hundred targeteers; but he also and Socrates were of [the number of] those [who were] serving around Miletus.

4. These, indeed, came for him to Sardis; but Tissaphernes, having observed these things, and having considered that the preparation was greater than as if against the Pisidians, proceeds to the king as quickly as he could, having horsemen about five hundred.

5. And the king, indeed, when he received intelligence from Tissaphernes of the expedition of Cyrus, was making preparation against him. But Cyrus, bringing with him those whom I have mentioned, set out from Sardis; and he advances through Lydia three stages, twenty and two parasangs, to the river Mæander. Of this, the breadth was two hundred feet; but there was over it a bridge fastened together with seven boats.

7. Having crossed this river, he advances through Phrygia one stage [consisting of] eight parasangs to Colossæ, an inhabited city, wealthy, and large. There he halted for [lit. continued] seven days; and Menon the Thessalian came, having a thousand heavy-armed men, and five hundred targeteers, Dolopians, and Ænians, and Olynthians.

6. Thence he advances three stages, twenty parasangs, to Celænæ in Phrygia, an inhabited city, great, and opulent.

There Cyrus had a palace and a great park, full of wild beasts, which he used to hunt on horseback, when he desired to exercise both himself and the horses. But through the middle of the park flows the river Mæander, but the fountains of it are out of [or issue from] the palace, and it flows also through the city [of] Celænæ. 8. But there is also a

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well-fortified palace of the great king in Celænæ near [or over] the fountains of the river Marsyas, beneath the citadel; but this [river] also flows through the city and discharges itself into the Mæander; but the breadth of the Marsyas is twenty and five feet. There Apollo is said to have flayed Marsyas, having overcome him, contending with him in [musical] skill, and to have hung up his skin in the cave, whence are the fountains; and on account of this the river is called the Marsyas. 9. There Xerxes, when having been beaten in battle he retreated from Greece, is said to have built both this palace and the fortress of Celænæ. There Cyrus remained thirty days, and Clearchus the Lacedæmonian exile came, having a thousand heavy-armed men and eight hundred Thracian targeteers, and two hundred Cretan bowmen. But along with him came also Socrates, the Syracusan, having three hundred heavy-armed men, and Sophœnetus the Arcadian, having a thousand heavy-armed men; and there Cyrus held a review and a numbering of the Greeks in the park, and they were altogether, indeed, ten thousand and one thousand men, and targeteers about two thousand.

10. Thence he advances two stages, ten parasangs, to Pettæ, an inhabited city. There he halted for three days, during which Xenias the Arcadian solemnised [*lit.* celebrated with offerings] the Lycæan festival, and held a contest [*i.e.* athletic games]; but the prizes were golden flesh-scrapers [or chaplets of that shape]; and Cyrus also witnessed the contest. Thence he advances two stages, twelve parasangs, to the market of the Ceramians [or Potters], an inhabited city, the last towards the land of Mysia. 11. Thence he advances three stages, thirty parasangs, to the plain of Calistrus, an inhabited city. There he remained five days, and to the soldiers there was due pay for more than [that] of three months, and frequently going to the gates [*i.e.* the head-quarters of Cyrus], they asked for it. But he, declaring his hopes, put them off, and he was evidently annoyed; for it was not in accordance with the disposition of Cyrus when he had [money], not to pay it.

12. There Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, the King of the Cilicians, comes to Cyrus, and she was said to have given Cyrus much money. But to his army, accordingly, Cyrus then gave pay for four months. But the Cilician [queen] had Cilicians and Aspendians as guards around her; but it was also said that Cyrus had intercourse with the Cilician [queen].

13. Thence he advances two stages, ten parasangs, to Thymbrium, an inhabited city. There was [flowing] by the roadside a fountain called that of Midas, the King of the Phrygians, at which Midas is said to have caught the Satyr [Silenus], having mixed it with wine. 14. Thence he advances two stages, ten parasangs, to Tyræum, an inhabited city. There he remained three days, and the Cilician [queen] is said to have asked Cyrus to show his army to her. Accordingly, wishing to show it, he makes a review of the Greeks and of the barbarians in the plain. 15. But he ordered the Greeks, as their custom was [to draw up] for battle, so to be drawn up and to stand, and that each [leader] should draw up his own men. They were, therefore, drawn up four deep; but Menon had the right wing and those with him, but Clearchus and his men the left, but the other commanders the centre.

16. Cyrus then reviewed the barbarians first; but they marched past, drawn up by troops [of horse] and companies [of foot]; but he afterwards [reviewed] the Greeks, riding past in his chariot, and the Cilician [queen] in her carriage. But they all had brazen helmets and scarlet tunics, and greaves, and burnished [*or* uncovered] shields. 17. But when he had passed by all, stopping his chariot before the phalanx, having sent Pigres the interpreter to the generals of the Greeks, he ordered them to hold forward their arms, and that the whole phalanx should advance. But they notified these things to the soldiers, and when [the trumpeter] sounded the trumpet, holding forward their arms, they came on, and after this as they advanced more quickly with a shout, of their own accord, a rush was made by the soldiers to the tents. 18. But there was much terror amongst others of the barbarians, and the Cilician [queen] also fled out of her covered chariot, and the men of the market having left their goods, fled also; but the Greeks with laughter came to their tents. But the Cilician [queen] wondered, seeing the brilliancy and the discipline of the army; but Cyrus was pleased when he saw the terror [proceeding from] out of the Greeks into the barbarians [*i.e.* the terror which the Greeks inspired into the barbarians].

19. Thence he advances three stages, twenty parasangs, to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia; there he remained three days. Thence he advances through Lycaonia five stages, thirty parasangs. This place, as being that of an enemy, he

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gave up to the Greeks to plunder. 20. Thence Cyrus sends back the Cilician [queen] into Cilicia by the most expeditious way, and he sent along with her soldiers which Menon had, and [Menon] himself. But Cyrus with the others advances through Cappadocia, four stages, twenty and five parasangs, to Dana, an inhabited city, great and opulent. There they remained three days, during which time Cyrus killed Megaphernes, a Persian man, a wearer of the royal purple [*i.e.* a Persian of the highest rank], and certain other potentates of the viceroys, having accused them of plotting against him.

21. Thence they endeavoured to penetrate into Cilicia, but the entrance was a carriage-road exceedingly steep and impracticable for an army to enter if any one offered opposition. But Syennesis also was said to be on the summits, guarding the entrance; on account of which he remained a day in the plain; but on the next day there arrived a messenger, saying that Syennesis had left the heights, when he had learned respecting Menon's army, that it was already in Cilicia, within the mountains, and when [*lit.* that] he heard of Tamos having triremes, [being] those of the Lacedæmonians and of Cyrus himself, sailing round from Ionia into Cilicia. 22. But Cyrus then went up to the mountains, no one preventing him, and he saw the tents, where the Cilicians had been [*lit.* were] keeping guard. But thence he descended into a plain large and beautiful, well watered and full of trees of all descriptions and of vines, and it produces also much sesame, and panic, and millet, and wheat, and barley, but a steep and lofty [*or* strongly defended] mountain-range encircles it in every direction from sea to sea.

23. Having descended through this range [*lit.* plain], he advanced four stages, five-and-twenty parasangs, to Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, great and opulent. There was the palace of Syennesis, the King of the Cilicians, but through the middle of the city flows a river, Cydnus by name, of two hundred feet in breadth. 24. This city the inhabitants, along with Syennesis, left for a strong fortress on the mountains, except that those who had stalls [did not flee]; but there remained also those dwelling by the sea, in Soli and in Issus.

25. But Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, five days before Cyrus, arrived at Tarsus; but in crossing the mountains [which lead down] into the plain, two companies of the army of Menon perished. Some said that [while] plundering they

had been cut off by the Cilicians, but others [asserted] that having been left in the rear and being unable to find the rest of the army or the roads, so then straying about, they perished; but these were a hundred heavy-armed men. 26. But when the others came, they plundered both the city [of] Tarsus and the palaces in it, having been enraged on account of the death of their comrades. But Cyrus, when he came into the city, summoned Syennesis to him, but he both declared that neither previously had he come into the hands of any one superior to himself, nor was willing then to go [into the hands] of Cyrus, before that his wife persuaded him and he received pledges of faith. 27. But after these things, when they met each other, Syennesis gave to Cyrus much money for the expedition, and Cyrus [gave] to him presents, which are considered honourable at [the court of] a king, a horse having a gold-studded bridle, and a golden chain, and bracelets, and a golden short sword, and a Persian robe, and [he granted] that his territory should no longer be plundered, but that he might get back the slaves that had been taken if they should meet with them anywhere.

CHAPTER III.

1. THERE Cyrus and the army halted during twenty days; for the soldiers declared that they would not proceed any further, for they were already beginning to suspect that they were marching against the king, but they said that they had been hired not for this [purpose]. But Clearchus first was endeavouring to force his own soldiers to go, but they threw stones both at him and at the beasts of burden which belonged to him, when he began to go forward. 2. But Clearchus then, indeed, narrowly escaped being [*lit.* so as not to be] stoned to death, but afterwards, when he knew that he would not be able to compel them [to go forward], he collected an assembly of his own soldiers. And at first he wept for a long time standing, but they, seeing this, wondered and were silent; but then he spoke such words [*i.e.* to this effect]:

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sorely troubled at present circumstances. For to me Cyrus became a friend, and when exiled [*lit.* flying from my country] he both honoured me in other respects, and he gave me ten thousand darics, which I having received did not lay up in private for myself, nor did I waste them in luxury; but I expended them on you. 4. And, in the first place, I made war against the Thracians, and along with you I inflicted vengeance on them on behalf of Greece, driving them out from the Chersonesus, [when] wishing to deprive of their land the Greeks inhabiting it; but when Cyrus called us, having taken you I went, in order that, if he should want anything from me, I might aid him in requital for the kind treatment I had received from him. 5. But, since you do not wish to go with me, there exists a necessity for me, that either betraying [*or*, deserting] you, I should avail myself of the friendship of Cyrus, or that, having acted falsely [*lit.* having told a falsehood] to him, I should side with you. Whether, then, I shall do what is right, I do not know; still, however, I will select you, and along with you I will endure whatever may be necessary, and no one shall ever say that I, having led Greeks among the barbarians, deserting the Greeks, preferred the friendly aid of the barbarians. 6. But since you do not wish to obey nor to follow me, I shall follow with you, and I shall endure whatever may be requisite; for I consider that you are to me both as my native land, and as friends, and as allies; and if [I be] with you, I think I shall be esteemed wherever I may be; but being bereft of you, I think that I would not be able either to assist a friend or to repel an enemy. Since then, I am about to go wherever you also [shall go], thus then form your opinion [of me]. 7. These things he said; but the soldiers, both those belonging to himself and the rest, having heard these things, because he asserts that he would not advance against the king, commend him; but from Xenias and Pasion, more than two thousand, having taken their arms and baggage animals, encamped with Clearchus. 8. But Cyrus, being both perplexed at these things, and also grieving, sent for Clearchus, but he was unwilling to go to him, but without the knowledge of the soldiers, sending a messenger to him, he told him to be of good courage, since these things would turn out favourably [*lit.* since these things would arrange themselves according to what was right]; but he requested him to send for him, yet

he himself [*i.e.* when sent for] said that he would not go. 9. But after these things, having brought together both his own soldiers and those deserting to him, and of the others any one that wished, he spoke such words:

‘O valiant soldiers, it is an evident fact that the affairs of Cyrus are so circumstanced with regard to us, as ours are with regard to him; for neither are we any longer his soldiers, since we do not follow him, nor is he any longer to us a paymaster. 10. That he thinks he has been injured by us, I know [well], so that also when he summons me, I do not wish to come, chiefly being ashamed, because I am conscious to myself as imposing on him in all respects; and then also fearing, lest having taken me he should inflict punishment for those [acts] in which he considers that he has been ill-treated by me. 11. To me, then, it appears not to be the time for us to slumber, nor to be careless about ourselves, but to consider what it is necessary to do after [*or*, in consequence of] these things. And whilst we stay here, it appears to me that it ought to be considered how we may stay most safely, and if it appears good to go away now, how we may go away most safely, and how we shall have the necessaries [of life], for without these there is no advantage in either a commander or in a private soldier. 12. But the man [*i.e.* Cyrus] is a friend worthy of much to whomsoever he may be a friend, but a most dangerous enemy to whomsoever he may be hostilely opposed. And he has still, moreover, a force both of infantry, of horse, and a naval [force], which we all alike both see and know of, for also we appear to me to be encamped not far from him, so that it is time to speak whatever any one considers best.’ Having said these [words], he ceased.

13. Upon this, then, there arose some of their own accord, about to speak what they thought; but others also being secretly ordered by him [to do so], showing of what kind would be the difficulty both to remain and to go away without the consent of Cyrus. 14. But one, indeed, said, pretending to hasten to march to Greece as quickly as possible, that they should choose other leaders as quickly as possible, if Clearchus does not wish to lead them away, and that they should buy supplies (but the market was in the barbarian army), and that they should pack up their baggage, and that going [to him], they should ask Cyrus for boats, so that they might sail away; but if he would not give these, that they should ask Cyrus for a guide, who should lead them away as

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through a friendly country ; but if he will not grant them a guide, that they should draw themselves up in the quickest manner possible, and that they should send also [persons] about to preoccupy the heights, so that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians might anticipate in securing them, 'of whom, having carried them off, we [still] have many men and much property.' This man then said such words, but after him Clearchus spoke to this effect :

15. 'Let no one of you speak about me as [if] going to lead this expedition, for I perceive in it many matters on account of which this must not be done by me, but [let him say] that I will obey whatsoever man you may choose, as far as is possible, in order that you may understand that I know how to be commanded quite as well as anyone else [lit. as any other of men also at the utmost].'

16. After him another [man] rose up, showing on the one hand the absurdity of the person that recommended [lit. ordered] them to ask for the boats, as if Cyrus would not resume his naval expedition, and showing how absurd it was to request a guide from him whose expedition we are ruining. 'But even if we should trust the guide that Cyrus may give us, what hinders us from inviting Cyrus also to secure [or, seize in advance] the heights for us? 17. For I, indeed should be unwilling to go on board of the boats which he might give us, lest he should sink us along with the triremes themselves, and I should dread to follow the guide whom he might appoint for us, lest he might lead us away somewhere, whence it might not be possible to escape. If, indeed, I go away without the consent of Cyrus [lit. Cyrus being unwilling], I should like [when] going away to escape his observation, [a matter] which is not practicable. 18. But I, for my part, say that these things are absurdities ; but it appears to me, that [some] persons who are competent [or, fit to do so], going along with Clearchus to Cyrus, for what [enterprise] he wishes to employ us, and if, on the one hand, the enterprise be similar to that on which he also formerly made use of mercenaries [lit. foreign troops], that we also should attend on him, and that we should not be more dastardly than those who formerly went up with him.

19. 'But if the enterprise appear greater and more laborious and more perilous than the former [one], that we ask him that either he should lead us [by] persuading us [to follow], or that being persuaded he should send us away to a

friendly country [*or, amicably*]; for thus both attending on him, we should follow him as friendly and zealous, and departing, we should go away safely; but that they should announce here whatsoever he may say with regard to these things; but that we, having heard, should consult with regard to these things.'

20. These things were resolved upon [*lit. seemed right*], and having selected men, they send them with Clearchus, who asked Cyrus [*about*] the things that appeared good to the army. But he replies that he hears that Abrocomas, a man unfriendly to him, is at the river Euphrates, twelve stages distant; against him then he said that he wished to march, and if he should be there, he said that he wanted to inflict punishment on him; but if he should take to flight, we shall there deliberate with regard to these things. 21. But the delegates [*lit. the men selected*] having heard these matters, announce them to the soldiers; but there was, indeed, a suspicion amongst them that he is conducting them against the king, but it, nevertheless, seemed advisable to follow. But to them asking additional pay, Cyrus promises that he will give to all half as much again [*lit. the whole and half (besides)*] of what they received before; instead of a daric, three half-darics each month for the [*private*] soldier; but not even there did any one at least openly hear that he is leading them against the king.

CHAPTER IV.

1. THENCE he advances two stages, ten parasangs, to the river Psarus, the breadth of which was three hundred feet. Thence he advances one stage, five parasangs, to the river Pyramus, the breadth of which was a stadium. Thence he advances two stages, fifteen parasangs, to Issi, the frontier [*lit. last*] city of Cilicia, situate close to the sea, inhabited, great, and opulent. 2. There they halted three days, and the five and thirty ships from the Peloponnesus came to Cyrus, and in command of these, Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, was admiral. But Tamos the Egyptian led them from Ephesus, having five and twenty other ships belonging to Cyrus, with

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which he had been [*lit.* was] besieging Miletus, because it was well-disposed to Tissaphernes, and along with Cyrus he was making war against him. 3. But Cheirisophus also, the Lacedæmonian, came on board the fleet, being sent for by Cyrus, having seven hundred heavy-armed men, of whom he was the leader in the army of Cyrus; but the ships were anchored near the tent of Cyrus. There also the Grecian mercenaries with Abrocomas, four hundred heavy-armed men, having revolted, came to Cyrus, and marched along with him against the king. 4. Thence he advances one stage, five parasangs, to the gates of Cilicia and of Syria. But these were two [fortified] walls, and Syennesis and a guard of Cilicians held the inner wall in front of Cilicia; but a garrison of the king was said to be guarding the outer one, that in front of Syria. But through the midst of these there a river flows, by name Carsus, in width about a hundred feet. But the whole space between the fortifications was three stadia, and it was not possible to make a passage by force, for the pass was narrow, and the [fortified] walls [were] extending to the sea, and above were steep rocks; and on both of these [fortified] walls stood the gates. 5. On account of this pass, Cyrus had sent for the ships, in order that he might disembark the heavy-armed soldiers inside and outside the gates, and that having dislodged the enemies they might pass by, if they kept watch at the Syrian gates, which Cyrus thought that Abrocomas would do, since he had a numerous army. But Abrocomas did not act thus; but when he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, having turned back out of Phœnicia, he marched away to the king, having, as it was reported, thirty myriads in his army.

6. Then he advances through Syria one stage five parasangs, to Myriandrum, a city peopled by the Phœnicians, close to the sea; but the place was an emporium, and many merchant ships were anchored there.

7. There they halted seven days; and Xenias the Arcadian, a commander, and Pasion the Megarian, embarking in a vessel, and having placed in it the articles worth most, sailed away (as, indeed, they seemed to most persons,) being jealous, because Cyrus allowed Clearchus to retain their soldiers that had gone over to Clearchus, as if marching back to Greece again, and not against the king. But, when they were out of sight, a report spread through [the troops] that Cyrus is chasing them with triremes; and some earnestly wished that

they, as being deceitful persons, might be taken, but others pitied them, if they should be captured.

8. But Cyrus, calling the generals, said, 'Xenias and Pasion have deserted us; but, however, let them be well assured that they have neither escaped into concealment, for I know where they are going, nor have they got out of my reach, for I have triremes so as to capture their vessel; but, by the gods, I certainly will not follow after them, neither shall any one say that I, as long as any one may be present, make use of him; but when he wishes to go away, that, seizing them, I not only treat them badly, but also plunder them of their property. But let them depart, knowing that they are acting worse towards us, than we towards them. And yet I have at least both their children and their wives guarded in Tralleis; but not even of these shall they be deprived, but they shall receive them back, on account of their former merit towards me.'

9. And he indeed spoke these words; but the Greeks, if there was any one less inclined to the expedition, hearing of the generosity of Cyrus, followed him more gladly and more eagerly.

After these things, Cyrus advances four stages, twenty parasangs, to the river Chalus, being a hundred feet in breadth, and full of large and tame fish, which the Syrians considered to be gods, and they did not permit [any person] to injure them, nor the doves. But the villages in which they pitched their camp belonged to Parysatis, having been given to her for girdle-money. 10. Thence he advances five stages, thirty parasangs, to the fountains of the river Daradas, the breadth of which was a hundred feet. There was the palace of Belesis, who had ruled over Syria, and a large and beautiful park, having all things [*i.e.* plants], as many as the seasons bring forth, but Cyrus devastated it, and burned the palace.

11. Thence he advances three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the river Euphrates, being four stadia in breadth, and there stood an inhabited city, great and wealthy, by name Thapsacus. There they halted five days, and Cyrus, having sent for the leaders of the Greeks, stated that the march would be to Babylon against the great king; and he orders them to announce these matters to the soldiers, and to induce them to follow. 12. But they, having convened an assembly, announced these things; but the soldiers were indignant against the generals, and said that they, knowing these matters long

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since, had concealed them, and they said that they would not go, unless some one would give them money, as [had been given] also to the former [troops] that had gone up with Cyrus to the father of Cyrus, and this, also, when they were not going to battle, but when his father was summoning Cyrus.

13. These things the generals reported to Cyrus; but he promised that he would bestow five minæ of silver on each man, when they should reach Babylon, and the full pay until he should bring back the Greeks to Ionia. Thus then the greater [part] of the Grecian [army] was persuaded. But Menon, before it was evident what the other troops would do, whether they would follow Cyrus or not, assembled his own army apart from the rest, and spoke these [words]:

14. 'O men! if you will be persuaded by me, neither encountering danger, nor undergoing toil, you will be highly honoured by Cyrus more than the other soldiers. What then do I exhort you to do? Cyrus now requests the Greeks to follow him against the king; I say then that you ought to cross over the river Euphrates, before it is clear what answer the other Greeks will give to Cyrus. 15. For, if they shall vote to follow him, you shall seem to be the cause, by having commenced to cross over; and to you, as being most eager, Cyrus will owe and will repay gratitude, but he knows how [to do this], if any other person does; but if the rest vote against it, we shall all return back again; but he will employ you, as being the only [persons] obedient to him, and as most faithful, both for garrisons and for captaincies, and anything that you may want, I know that, as friends, you will obtain from Cyrus.'

16. Having heard these things, they obeyed and passed over before the others gave their reply. And when Cyrus perceived them to have crossed over, he was both delighted, and, sending Glus, he said to the army, 'I, indeed, O men! already praise you, but it shall be my care that ye also may praise me, or no longer think me to be Cyrus.'

17. Then, indeed, the soldiers being in high expectations, prayed that he might be successful; but he was also reported to have sent gifts to Menon in a munificent manner. And having done these things he began to cross over, and all the rest of the army followed with him; and of those crossing the river, no one was wet by the river above the breast. 18. But the inhabitants of Thapsacus said that this river had never yet been capable of being crossed on foot, except then, but [only] by boats, which then Abrocomas advancing before

them had burned, in order that Cyrus might not cross over. Accordingly this seemed to be a divine [intimation], and [to denote] that the river evidently yielded to Cyrus, as if about to become king.

19. Thence he advances through Syria nine stages, fifty parasangs, and they come to the river Araxes. There were many villages full of corn and of wine. There they halted three days, and they obtained provisions.

CHAPTER V.

1. THENCE he advances through Arabia, having on his right hand the river Euphrates, being five encampments through the desert, thirty and five parasangs. But in this region the country was a plain, all as level as a sea, but full of worm-wood, but if there was in it any other [species] of shrub [*lit.* wood] or of reed, they were all fragrant, like aromatics, but there was no tree in it. 2. [There were in it] wild animals of all kinds, very many wild asses, and many large ostriches; but there were also in it bustards and antelopes [*or* gazelles]; and the horsemen sometimes chased these wild animals. And the asses, indeed, when any one would pursue, running forward, would stand still, for they ran much more quickly than the horses; and again when the horses approached, they did the same, so that it was not possible to take them, unless the horsemen, having dispersed, hunted them, taking up the chase successively with their horses; but the flesh of those which were caught was like deer's flesh, but more delicate. 3. But no one captured an ostrich, but those of the horsemen that pursued soon ceased [to do so], for retreating, it escaped to a great distance, raising its feet in running, and its wings as a sail, elevating them. But it is possible to catch the bustards, if any one suddenly started them, for they fly for [only] a short distance, like partridges, and they soon become fatigued, but their flesh was most delicious.

4. But advancing through this region, they arrive at the river Mascas, a hundred feet in breadth. There was a city deserted, [and] large, but its name was Corsote, but this [city]

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was flowed round in a circle by the Mascas. Here they halted for three days, and obtained supplies. 5. Thence he advances three and ten stages through the desert, ninety parasangs, having on the right hand the river Euphrates, and he arrives at Pylæ.

During these marches many of the baggage animals perished by hunger; for there was not grass nor any other produce, but all the region was barren; but the inhabitants, quarrying mill-stones [*lit.* mill-stones turned by asses], beside the river, and fashioning them, brought them to Babylon and sold them, and purchasing corn in return, they subsisted. 6. But corn failed the army, and it was not possible to purchase any except in the Lydian market, in the barbaric [camp] of Cyrus, the kapithe of wheat, corn, or barley, at four sigli. But the siglus is equal to seven Attic oboli and a half; and the kapithe contained two Attic chænes. Therefore the soldiers subsisted eating animal food [*lit.* flesh]. 7. But there were some of those marches which he made very long, whenever he wished to finish [his journey] either to water or to fodder; and on one occasion, indeed, when a narrow defile and [deep] mud appeared, that was difficult to be passed by the wagons, Cyrus halted along with the noblest and richest [*or*, most prosperous] men around him, and he ordered Glus and Pigres, having taken [a portion] of the barbaric army, to assist in extricating the wagons. 8. But when they appeared to him to act indolently, as if in a passion, he ordered the noblest [of] the Persians around him to assist in hastening on the wagons. Thereupon it was possible to behold some portion of their good discipline. For, casting off their purple cloaks, where each happened to stand, as one would run for the victory [in racing], they rushed, and that, too, down a very steep hill, [although] wearing their very costly tunics and embroidered trousers, some also having chains round their necks, and bracelets on their wrists [*lit.* around their hands], but immediately with these, bounding into the mire, more quickly than any one could suppose, they carried out the wagons, held aloft [*i. e.* 'they hoisted aloft and carried out the wagons.'—*Macmichael.*]

9. But on the whole Cyrus was evidently expediting the entire march, and not delaying, except where he halted for the sake of supplies or for some other necessary purpose, thinking that the more quickly he would proceed, he would

fight with the king so much the more unprepared, and the more slowly [he marched], the greater army in proportion would be collected for the king. And it was possible for any one directing his attention [to the matter] to perceive that the empire of the king was strong in extent of territory and [in the multitude] of its men, but weak on account of the length of the roads and in consequence of its being dispersed, if any one should wage war in the most expeditious manner.

10. But beyond the river Euphrates in [the course of] the desert stages was a wealthy and large city, but its name was Charmande; the soldiers purchased their necessities from this, crossing over on rafts thus: The hides which they had as tent-coverings they filled with light hay, they then united them and sewed them lightly together, so that the water might not reach the hay; on these then they crossed over and received the necessary supplies, wine made of the fruit of the palm-tree and bread of millet, for this was plentiful in that region.

11. And the soldiers of Menon and those of Clearchus having some dispute here, Clearchus, judging that one of Menon's soldiers had acted unjustly [*i.e.* was the aggressor], inflicted stripes on him [*i.e.* flogged him], but he going to his own army, related it to them; but his fellow-soldiers having heard it were indignant, and were exceedingly enraged against Clearchus. 12. But on that same day Clearchus, having arrived at the passage of the river, and having surveyed the market there, rides back to his own tent through Menon's army, with a few around him. Cyrus had not yet arrived, but he was still advancing; but some one of Menon's soldiers [who was] splitting wood, when he saw Clearchus riding through, aims at him with his axe; he indeed missed him; and then another, with a stone, and another also, and then many, a shout having been raised. 13. But he escapes to his own army, and immediately summoned [his soldiers] to arms; and he ordered the heavy-armed men to remain there, having placed their shields against their knees; but he himself, taking the Thracians, and the cavalry which was with him in the army, more than forty, and most of these were Thracians, advanced against Menon's soldiers, so that they and Menon himself were terrified, and ran to their arms. But others stood still, knowing not how to act under the circumstances. 14. But Proxenus, for he happened to have arrived after this, and also a company of

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heavy-armed men following him, immediately then leading them into the space between both parties, grounded their arms [*or*, took up a position—*Macmichael*] and entreated Clearchus not to do these things. But he was indignant, because, when he himself had narrowly escaped being stoned, he [*i.e.* Proxenus] spoke lightly of his disaster, and he ordered him to stand out from the midst. 15. But at this [*crisis*] Cyrus came up and inquired into the circumstance; and immediately he took his javelins in his hands, and with those who were present of his faithful [*adherents*], he came riding into the midst and speaks these words: 16. 'Clearchus, and Proxenus, and ye other Greeks that are present, you know not what you do; for if you join in any combat against one another, reflect that on this very day both I shall be at once destroyed, and you also not long after me; for, if our own affairs are in a bad condition, all those barbarians whom you see will be more hostile to us than those who are with the king.' 17. Clearchus, having heard these things, recovered himself, and both parties piled their arms on their own ground.

CHAPTER VI.

1. As they marched on from this place, the tracks and dung of horses appeared; but the track was supposed to be [*that*] as if of about two thousand horses. But these who preceded them burnt up both the fodder and whatever else was useful. But Orontes, a Persian man, both by birth related to the king, and in warlike affairs considered as amongst the best, plots against Cyrus, having previously made war on him, but having been reconciled to him. 2. He said to Cyrus, that, if he would give him a thousand horsemen, either forming an ambuscade, he would either utterly destroy the cavalry burning the country before them, or [*that*] he would take many of them alive, and would hinder them from burning as they went forward, and that he would cause that even if they had seen [*lit.* seeing] the army of Cyrus, they should never be able to report [*the cir-*

cumstance] to the king. These [proposals] seemed to Cyrus, when he heard them, to be useful, and he ordered him to take [a portion] from each of the leaders. 3. But Orontes, believing that the horse soldiers were ready for him, writes a letter to the king, that he would come to him having as many horse soldiers as he could; but he requested him to intimate to his own cavalry that they should receive him as a friendly [person]. But in this letter there were also remembrances of his former friendship and fidelity. This letter he gives to a man faithful, as he thought; but the latter, having received it, shows [*or*, gives] it to Cyrus. 4. But he having read it, arrests Orontes, and summons into his own tent seven of the noblest of the Persians about his person, and he ordered the generals of the Greeks to bring some heavy-armed men, and that these should place their arms around his tent. But they did these things, leading up about three thousand heavy-armed men. 5. But he also invited in Clearchus as an adviser, since he [*lit.* who at least] appeared both to him and to others to be the most specially honoured of the Greeks. But when he came out, he related to his friends the trial of Orontes, how it had been conducted; for this was not forbidden, and he said that Cyrus opened the conference thus:

6. 'I have called you together, my friends, in order that, deliberating with you as to whatsoever is most just before gods and before men, I may do this concerning Orontes here present [*lit.* this here]. For, in the first place, my father gave him to be obedient to me. But when he, having been ordered, as he himself alleges, by my brother, made war against me, retaining the citadel in Sardis; and I, making war against him, brought it to pass that it seemed fit to him to discontinue the war against me, I both received his right hand, and I gave him mine.

7. 'After these things,' said he, 'O Orontes, is there anything in which I have wronged you?' But he replied that there was not. Again Cyrus asked, 'Afterwards then, although wronged by me in no respect, as you yourself acknowledge, did you not, revolting to the Mysians, harass my territory as much as you could?' Orontes said, 'It was so.' 'Then,' said Cyrus, 'when you understood your own [insufficient] power, did you not, coming to the altar of Diana, say that you repented? and having persuaded me, did you not give me pledges of faith, and receive them from me?' And

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Orontes assented to these things. 'In what respect then,' said Cyrus, 'having been wronged by me, have you *now* for the third time become convicted [*lit.* evident as] plotting against me?' But Orontes having said [that he had plotted], although having been wronged in no respect, Cyrus asked him, 'Do you then acknowledge that you have been unjust with regard to me?' '[Yes], for there is a necessity [to acknowledge this],' said Orontes. After this, Cyrus again asked, 'Could you then yet become hostile to my brother, but friendly and faithful to me?' And Orontes replied, 'Not even if I should become so, O Cyrus, should I ever any longer appear so to you at least.'

9. At these words Cyrus said to those present, 'This man has done such things, and he has stated such things; but of ye, do you first, O Clearchus, declare your opinion, whatever seems right to you.' But Clearchus said these things: 'I recommend that this man should be removed as soon as possible, so that it may be no longer necessary for us to be upon our guard against him; but that we may have leisure, as far as concerns him, to benefit these our willing friends.' 10. But he said that the others also assented to this opinion. After these things, Cyrus ordering it, all rising up, and even his relatives also, seized Orontes by the girdle, [as a sign] for his death; then those to whom [that duty] was appointed, led him forth. But when those who previously used to pay homage to him, they even then paid homage to him, although knowing that he is being led away to death. 11. But when he was led into the tent of Artapates, the most confidential of the mace-bearers of Cyrus, after this no one ever saw Orontes living or dead, nor did any one, knowing how he died, declare it; but different persons formed different conjectures, but no sepulchre of his ever appeared.

CHAPTER VII.

1. THENCE he advances through Babylonia three stages twelve parasangs. But at the third station Cyrus holds a review of the Greeks and of the barbarians in the plain, about

midnight, for it seemed likely that, on the next morning, the king would with his army, about to fight; and he ordered Clearchus to lead the right wing, and Menon the Thessalian the left; but he himself marshalled his own [troops]. 2. But after the review, on the following morning, deserters having come from the great king, gave information to Cyrus about the army of the king. But Cyrus, having summoned the generals and captains of the Greeks, consulted with them how he should conduct the engagement; and he himself exhorted them, encouraging them in these words: 'O Grecian men, not being in need of barbarian soldiers, I am leading you as my allies; but considering you to be braver than, and superior to, many barbarians, on this account I took you in addition. [See then] that ye be men worthy of the liberty which you have acquired, and for the possession of which I consider you happy. For you know well that I would prefer liberty to all the things that I possess, and other things manifold more. 4. But in order that you may know to what sort of a contest you are proceeding, I, knowing it, will inform you. Now their multitude is great, and they advance with a loud [*lit.* great] outcry, but if ye bear up against these things, in other respects I seem to myself even to be ashamed [to reflect] what kind of men you will discover those that are in the country [to be]. But if you be warriors, and prove yourselves courageous—that man amongst you who wishes to return home, I will cause him to depart enviable to those at home, but I think that I shall cause many of you to prefer affairs with me, rather than with those at home.'

5. Hereupon Gauletes, being present, a Samian exile, but faithful to Cyrus, said, 'And indeed, O Cyrus, some assert that you promise many things now, on account of being at such a crisis of approaching danger, but that if anything turn out successfully, they say that you do not remember [what you promise]; but some say, that even if you should remember, and were willing, you would not be able to pay as much as you promise.' 6. Cyrus, having heard these things, said, 'Yet, O men, this is my hereditary empire, towards the south as far as where, on account of the heat, men cannot dwell; and towards the north [*lit.* the Bear], as far as where [they cannot dwell] by reason of the cold; but the friends of my brother rule as satraps all the regions intervening between these extremes [*lit.* in the midst of these]. 7. But

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if we shall be victorious, it is necessary that we should make our own friends masters of these places. So that I do not fear this, lest I may not have something to give [*lit.* that which I may give] to each of my friends, if matters turn out successfully, but lest I may not have sufficient friends to whom I may make presents. But to each of you, the Greeks, I will also give a gold crown.' 8. But those that heard these words were both themselves much more eager, and they announced [this intelligence] to the others. But both the generals and some of the other Greeks kept going in to him, demanding to know what should be their portion, if they should be victorious; but he sent them away, having fully satisfied the desires of all. 9. But all, as many as conferred with him, exhorted him not to fight [personally], but to take his post behind themselves. But at this juncture, Clearchus asked Cyrus to this effect, 'Do you suppose then, O Cyrus, that your brother will fight against you?' 'By Jove,' said Cyrus, 'if at least he is the son of Darius and of Parysatis, and my brother, I shall not obtain all these [possessions] without a conflict.'

10. In this mustering of the troops under arms, the number of the Greeks was shield [bearers] ten thousand and four hundred, and targeteers two thousand and five hundred; but of the barbarians, with Cyrus, ten myriads, and scythe-armed chariots about twenty. 11. But there were said to be an hundred and twenty myriads of the enemies, and two hundred scythe-armed chariots. But there were six thousand other horsemen, which Artagerses commanded; and these were drawn up in front of the king himself. 12. But there were four commanders, and generals, and leaders of the army of the king, each over thirty myriads, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. But of these there were present in the conflict ninety myriads, and a hundred and fifty scythe-armed chariots. But Abrocomas was five days too late for the battle, advancing from Phœnicia. 13. Some of the enemy having deserted from the great king before the battle, told these things to Cyrus; and, after the battle, those of the enemy who were captured afterwards related the same things.

14. Thence Cyrus advances one stage, three parasangs, with all his army, both Grecian and barbaric, marshalled together; for he expected that the king would give battle on that day; for, in the midst of this march, there was a trench dug deep—in breadth five fathoms, but in depth three fathoms. 15. But

the trench had been continued upwards across the plain for twelve parasangs, as far as the wall of Media. There indeed are the canals flowing from the river Tigris, but they are four, in breadth a hundred feet, and corn vessels sail upon them; and they discharge themselves into the Euphrates, and are a parasang distant each [from the other], and there are bridges over them. But close to the Euphrates, [*lit.* by the Euphrates itself], there was a narrow pass between the river and the trench of about twenty feet in width. 16. But the great king makes this trench instead of a rampart, when he heard that Cyrus was advancing against him. Yet, by that narrow pass, Cyrus and his army passed through, and came within the trench. 17. On that day then the king did not give battle, but there were many evident traces both of horses and men retreating. 18. Thereupon, having summoned Silanus, the Ambracian seer, gave him three thousand darics, because, sacrificing previously on the eleventh [day] from that day, he had declared to him that the king will not give battle within ten days. But Cyrus said, 'Therefore he will not fight at all, unless he fights within those days; but, if you shall have spoken the truth, I promise you ten talents.' This money he paid him then, when the ten days had elapsed. 19. But, when at the trench the king did not prevent the army of Cyrus from crossing, it seemed to Cyrus and to the others that he had given up the intention of fighting; so that on the following day Cyrus was marching more carelessly. 20. But on the third day he was conducting his march, both riding in his chariot, and having a few men in line before him, and most of his army was proceeding in disorder, and many of the arms belonging to the soldiers were borne on waggons and beasts of burden.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. AND it was already about full market [time], and the station was near where he intended to halt, when Patagias, a Persian, one of the confidential friends of Cyrus [*lit.* of those faithful around Cyrus], appears in front, riding at full

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speed on a sweating horse, and immediately, to all whom he met with, he shouted, both in the barbaric language and in Greek, that the king is advancing with a large army, prepared as if for battle. 2. Thereupon, indeed, great confusion arose, for the Greeks, and all [the others] also, supposed that the king would immediately fall upon them [while] disordered. 3. And Cyrus having leaped down from his chariot, put on his corselet, and mounting on his horse, he took his javelins in [*lit.* into] his hands, and ordered all the others to arm themselves, and to arrange themselves each at his own post. 4. Thereupon, with great haste, they took up their positions; Clearchus, indeed, having the right [portion] of the wing towards the river Euphrates, Proxenus next to him, and the others after him, but Menon and his troops held the left wing of the Grecian [army]. 5. But of the barbaric [forces], some Paphlagonian horsemen, about a thousand, and the Grecian targeteers, stood near Clearchus on the right wing; but on the left was Ariæus, the lieutenant of Cyrus, and the rest of the barbaric [forces]. 6. But Cyrus, and horsemen along with him, about six hundred, armed themselves with corselets, and with greaves, and with helmets, all except Cyrus; but Cyrus took his station for the battle, having his head unprotected by a helmet [*lit.* uncovered, *i.e.* except with a woollen head-dress]; but it is said that the other Persians also, with heads slightly covered, incur dangers in war. 7. But all the horses that were with Cyrus had both frontlets and breast-plates; but the horsemen had also Grecian short swords. 8. And it was now indeed the middle of the day, and the enemy were not yet visible; but when the afternoon was approaching, there appeared a dust like a white cloud, and some time afterwards, as if it were some blackness over the plain to a great extent. But when they came nearer, immediately some brazen armour began to flash, and the lances and the ranks became visible. 9. And there were horse soldiers with white corselets on the left of the enemy, and Tissaphernes was said to command them; but next to them were [soldiers] bearing wicker shields, and next to them, heavy-armed men with wooden shields extending to their feet; but these were said to be Egyptians; and some were cavalry, others archers. But all these were marshalled by nations, [and] each nation marched in a parallelogram full of men. 10. But in front of these were chariots called the scythe—armed, a considerable distance from each other, but they had the scythes stretching out from

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the axles in an oblique direction towards the ground, so as to cut through whatever they encountered. But the design was that they should drive into the ranks of the Greeks, and cut through them. 11. Without regard, however, to what Cyrus said, when, having called them together, he exhorted the Greeks to endure the shout of the barbarians, he was mistaken in this; for they advanced, not with a loud cry, but in silence as much as possible, and calmly, in even line and slowly. 12. And at this juncture Cyrus, riding up by himself [*i. e.* without his body-guard], with Pigres, his interpreter, and three or four others, continued calling aloud to Clearchus to lead the army against the centre of the enemies, because the king was there, 'and if,' said he, 'we overcome that, all is accomplished for us.' 13. But Clearchus, [although] seeing the centre a dense body, and hearing from Cyrus that the king was outside the Grecian left wing—for the king so surpassed in numbers, that, [although] holding his own centre, he was still outside the left wing of Cyrus—yet still Clearchus did not wish to draw off the right wing from the river, fearing lest he should be hemmed in on both sides; but he answered to Cyrus that it is his care that all shall be properly managed.

14. During this time the barbarian army was advancing in even line, but the Grecian army, as remaining on the same ground, was being formed from those who were still coming up. And Cyrus, riding up, not very close to his own army, looking both upon his enemies and his friends, was inspecting on both sides. 15. But Xenophon, an Athenian, seeing him from the Grecian army, and having ridden up so as to meet him, asked him if he would give any command; but he, having pulled up [his horse], spoke, and ordered him to tell to all that both the sacrifices were favourable, and that the victims were favourable. 16. But as [Cyrus] was speaking these words, he heard a murmur going through the ranks, and he asked what the murmur might be. And [Xenophon] said that the watchword is now passing down [the lines] for the second time. And he wondered who ordered it [to be given] and he asked what the watchword was. But he answered that it was 'Jupiter the Preserver, and Victory.' 17. But Cyrus, having heard this, said, 'But I both accept it [as a good omen], and let it be so.'

But saying these words, he rode back to his own position; and the phalanxes [*i. e.* the two armies] were not more than [*lit.* no longer] three or four stadia from each other, when the

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Greeks both chanted their pæan and began to advance against their enemies. 18. But as they were advancing, a certain part of the phalanx undulated [out of line], and the portion which was being left behind began to run with speed, and at the same time all shouted, as they [are accustomed to], raise the war-cry to Mars, and all then ran. But some say that with their shields they made a noise against their spears, causing terror in the horses. 19. But before an arrow reaches [either army], the barbarians give way and fly. And then, indeed, the Greeks pursued with all their strength; but they shouted out to each other not to run with [too great] speed, but to follow in order.

20. But the chariots were carried, some of them through the enemies themselves, and others also through the Greeks, being deprived of their charioteers; but the latter, when they foresaw them coming, stood apart. One man was also overtaken [i.e., run down by a chariot] being panic-struck as in a chariot race [or, race course]; and, indeed, they said that he suffered no injury [*lit.* nothing]; but neither did any other of the Greeks receive any injury in this battle, except that, on the left wing, one or two [*lit.* a certain man] was said to have been shot with an arrow.

21. But Cyrus, perceiving the Greeks victorious on their side and pursuing, [although] being delighted, and already saluted as king by those around him, not even thus was he persuaded to join in pursuit; but retaining firmly-compacted that band of the six hundred horsemen with him, he was carefully watching what the king would do; for he knew of him, that he occupied the centre of the Persian army. 22. And also all the leaders of the barbarians led [their troops], being in the centre of their own men, considering that thus they are in the safest position, if their force is on both sides of them; and that, if they wanted to issue any orders, the army would ascertain them in half the time. 23. And the king, accordingly, [although] then occupying the centre of his own army, was, notwithstanding, beyond the left wing of Cyrus. But when no one fought with him in the van, nor with those marshalled before him, he wheeled round [*lit.* bent in] as if to encircle [the troops of Cyrus].

24. Thereupon, indeed, Cyrus, fearing lest, coming in the rear, he should cut down the Grecian force, charges forth against him, and dashing in with his six hundred horsemen, he defeats those that were marshalled in front of the king,

and turned to fight the six thousand, and he himself is said to have slain with his own hand their leader, Artagerses. 25. But when this rout occurred, even the six hundred [horsemen] of Cyrus, rushing eagerly to the pursuit, became scattered, except a few that were left around his person, mostly those who were called his table-companions. 26. But being with these, he beheld the king and the host around him, and immediately he could not restrain himself, but exclaiming, 'I see the man!' he rushed against him, and strikes him on the breast, and wounds him through the corselet, as Ctesias the physician asserts, and he himself asserts also that he healed the wound. 27. But some one forcibly struck with a javelin, beneath the eye, [Cyrus] himself [when] striking. And there, while the king and Cyrus were fighting, and those around them in defence of each, how many of those around the king perished Ctesias informs us, for he was with him; but both Cyrus himself died, and eight, the bravest of his followers [*lit.* of those around him] lay dead over him. 28. But Artapatus, of his mace-bearers, the attendant most faithful to him, is said, when he saw Cyrus fallen, having leaped down from his horse, to have thrown himself over him. And some assert that the king ordered some person to slay him over Cyrus, but others [assert] that he slew himself over him, having drawn his scimitar, for he had a golden one; and he wore also a chain, and bracelets, and the other ornaments, like the highest among the Persians, for he had been honoured by Cyrus both on account of his affection and his fidelity.

CHAPTER IX.

1. Thus then died Cyrus, being a man of [all] the Persians who existed after the ancient Cyrus, both the most kingly and the most worthy to command, as is acknowledged by all those who appear to have had an experience [of the character] of Cyrus. For, in the first place, being yet a boy, when he was being edu-

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cated along with his brother, and along with the other boys, he was considered to be the best of all in all things.

3. For, all the sons of the noblest Persians are brought up at the court [*lit.* gates] of the king; there any one may learn much self-discipline [*Macmichael*; or, might learn (*or*, remark) much modesty]; and it is not possible either to hear or to see anything disgraceful. 4. And the boys behold and hear of those that are honoured by the king, and others that are dishonoured; so that even when quite boys they learn both to command and to be commanded. 5. There Cyrus seemed to have been in the first place, the most respectful of his coëvals [*or*, equals in age], and to have been more obedient than those even who were inferior to himself. And in the next place he seemed extremely fond of horses, and to know how to manage his horses most skilfully [*lit.* in the best manner]. And [*men*] considered him to be most anxious to learn, and also most indefatigable in practising exercises [*relating*] to war, both archery and hurling the javelin. 6. But when it was suitable for his time of life [*lit.* age], he was both passionately fond of hunting, and, indeed, passionately fond of [*encountering*] danger against wild beasts. And once, indeed, he did not dread a she-bear rushing down upon him, but [*in*] closing with her, he was dragged from his horse, and suffered some wounds, of which he retained the manifest scars, but in the end he slew her; and he caused, indeed, the first that came to his assistance [*to be pronounced*] most happy by many.

7. But when he was sent down by his father as Satrap of Lydia, and the greater Phrygia and of Cappadocia, and was declared general of all those whose duty it is to assemble at the plain of Castolus, in the first place he manifested himself [*i.e.* he made it evident], that he considered it [*a matter*] of the greatest importance, if he should make a treaty with any one, or an agreement with any one, and if he should promise anything to any one, not in any respect to act deceitfully. 8. For that reason, also, the cities entrusted to his charge placed confidence in him, and men [*in general*] trusted to him; and if any one became an enemy, if Cyrus had once made a treaty, he was fully confident that he would suffer nothing contrary to the treaty. 9. Accordingly, when he made war against Tissaphernes, all these cities voluntarily selected Cyrus instead of Tissaphernes, except the [*city of the*] Milesians; but these latter were afraid of him, because

he was reluctant to forsake the exiles. 10. For he both proved by deeds, and he also asserted that he would never desert them, when once he became a friend to them, not even though they were to become still weaker [*or*, fewer in number], or if they should become unfortunate. 11. But if any one should have done him a benefit or an injury, he evidently endeavoured [*lit.* he was evident, endeavouring], to surpass him, and some persons used to quote a prayer of his, how that he prayed that he might live so long a time, until he should overcome both those that treated him well, and those [that treated him] badly, requiting both. 12. And so, most persons eagerly desired to entrust [*or*, give up] to him alone—at least of all the men in our time—their money, and their cities, and their own persons.

13. Nor yet, however, could any one assert even this, that he allowed evil-doers and unjust [persons] to mock him, but he punished them the most unsparingly of all, and frequently it was possible to see along the travelled roads, men deprived both of feet, and hands, and eyes; so that, in the dominion of Cyrus, it became possible both for Greek and for barbarian, doing no wrong, to go fearlessly whithersoever any one wished, taking with him whatever was convenient.

14. Certainly, however, he was acknowledged to pre-eminently honour those [who were] good for war. And, in the first place, he waged war against the Pisidians and the Mysians; and marching, therefore, even in person into these regions, whomsoever he saw willing to encounter danger, these also he appointed as governors of the country which he was subduing, and he afterwards distinguished in other ways with presents also. 15. So that it appears evident that the brave were most prosperous, and that cowards were deemed fit [only] to be their slaves. Therefore there was for him a great plenty of those wishing to face danger, wherever any one supposed that Cyrus would perceive him.

16. Still, however, with regard to integrity, if any one seemed evident to him as wishing to display it [*or*, to distinguish himself], he considered it of the utmost consequence to make these men more wealthy than those loving gain from unjust [motives]. 17. Accordingly, both many other things were justly administered for him, and he also had in his service [*lit.* used] a genuine army. For both generals and centurions sailed to him not for the sake of money, but because

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they knew that to obey Cyrus honourably would be more profitable than mere monthly pay [*lit.* gain by the month].

18. But, in truth, if any one only served him well when having ordered some additional [service], he never permitted the willingness of any one to be unrewarded. Wherefore there were said to be attached to Cyrus the very best servants in every [kind of] work. 19. And if he perceived any one being a skilful economist on just principles, and first furnishing with stock [*or*, improving] the country which he governed, and raising revenues, no one, in such a case, did he deprive of [his possessions], but he continued to give still more in addition; so that they both laboured cheerfully, and gained wealth confidently; and, moreover, whatever any one had gained he least of all concealed from Cyrus, for he evidently seemed not envious towards those that were openly wealthy, but [as] trying to make use of the riches of those who clandestinely concealed them.

20. '[In the case], however, of friends, as many as ever he made' [*Macmichael*], and knew to be well-disposed, and considered to be efficient helpers in whatever he happened to wish to execute, he is acknowledged by all to have been the very best [man] at serving them. 21. For, [in accordance with] this very object, on account of which he thought that he wanted friends himself [namely], that he might have assistants, so he himself also endeavoured to be to his friends the best assistant, in that of which he perceived each one desirous.

22. And for a single individual [*lit.* being one man at least], I think he received most gifts for many reasons; but he used to distribute these to his friends, looking to the inclinations of each, and [looking also to that] of which he saw each person most in need. 23. And whatever [presents] any one might send him as an ornament for his person, either as if for war, or as if for splendour of appearance, they report that he said concerning these also, that his own person could not be ornamented with all these, but [that] he thought friends splendidly decorated to be the greatest ornament to a man. 24. And, indeed, the fact that in great matters he surpassed his friends in conferring favours is nothing wonderful, since at least he was also more powerful; but the [fact of] his excelling his friends in thoughtfulness and in being anxious to show favour to them, these [qualities], to me at least, appear to be more admirable. 25. For Cyrus frequently used

to send half-empty [*i.e.* half-full] jars of wine, whenever he received any peculiarly sweet, saying, 'that not yet for a long time had he met with a sweeter wine than this; he sent this, therefore, to you, and he requests you to drink this out-to-day, along with those whom you love particularly.' 26. But he frequently sent half-eaten geese, and halves of loaves, and other such things, ordering the bearer to say in addition: 'Cyrus was delighted with these, therefore he desires that you also should try them.' 27. And when green fodder was very scarce—but he himself was able to procure it for himself, on account of having many agents, and on account of his forethought—sending it amongst them, he requested his friends to cast this fodder before the horses that bore their own persons, so that they might not, whilst hungry, bear his friends. 28. But if, indeed, he ever proceeded forth, and very many were likely to behold him, calling his friends to him, he engaged in earnest conversation with them, that he might show whom he distinguished; so that, for my part, from what [I am accustomed] to hear, I consider that no one, either of Greeks or of barbarians, was beloved by more. 29. And this [circumstance] also [is] a proof of this [assertion]. From Cyrus, while still [*lit.* being] a subject, no one deserted to the king, except that Orontes endeavoured [to do so]; and this [slave], indeed, whom [Orontes] thought to be faithful to him, he quickly found to be more friendly to Cyrus than to himself; but many withdrew from the king to Cyrus, when they became enemies to each other; and even those who were most favoured [*lit.* beloved] by him [*i.e.* the king], did so, considering that if they were [*lit.* being] deserving, they would obtain more honourable dignity [*lit.* more worthy honour] with Cyrus than with the king. 30. But this also which happened to him at the close of his life [is] a great proof that both he himself was excellent, and [that] he was able to correctly distinguish faithful, well-disposed, and steadfast friends. 31. For when he fell, all his [personal] friends and the guests-at-his-table, who were with him, died, fighting for Cyrus, except Ariæus; but he happened to be stationed at the left wing, commanding his cavalry; but when he heard that Cyrus had fallen, he fled, having also [with him] all the troops that he commanded.

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CHAPTER X.

1. THERE then the head of Cyrus is cut off, and his right hand. But the king, and those with him, rush in pursuit into the encampment of Cyrus; and the troops [*lit.* those with] Ariæus no longer stand [their ground], but they fly through their own encampment to the station whence they had set out, and the distance of the road was said to be four parasangs [*lit.* but there were said to be four parasangs of road]. 2. But the king, and those with him, both pillaged the other things, [that were] many [in number], and he captures the Phocæan woman, the mistress of Cyrus, [who was] said to be intellectual and beautiful. 3. But the Milesian [mistress], who was younger, having been seized by those around the king, flies for rescue from them, cloakless, towards [those of] the Greeks who happened to be bearing arms among the beasts of burden [*i.e.* at the baggage], and these being drawn out against [the Persians], indeed, slew many of the plunderers, but some of themselves also perished. However, they did not fly, but they saved both her, and they saved all the rest, all that was within their camp, both effects and people. 4. And now [*lit.* there], both the kings were distant from each other about thirty stadia, the latter pursuing the enemy opposed to them [*lit.* those over against them], as if conquering all; the former plundering, as if already all [of them were] conquering. 5. But when the Greeks ascertained that the king, along with his army, was amongst their baggage [*lit.* beasts of burden], and the king, again, had heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks had conquered the [division] opposed to them, and [that] they are going forward pursuing, then at length the king both collects his own forces and arranges them; but Clearchus, having summoned Proxenus (for he was nearest), was deliberating whether they should send some [soldiers], or whether they all should go to the encampment to bear aid.

6. During this [time] the king also was evidently again marching upon them, as it seemed, from the rear; and the Greeks facing round, made preparations against them, as if he were advancing in that direction, and [as if they] intended to receive him. But the king did not lead [his

to send half-empty [*i.e.* half-full] jars of wine, whenever he received any peculiarly sweet, saying, 'that not yet for a long time had he met with a sweeter wine than this; he sent this, therefore, to you, and he requests you to drink this out to-day, along with those whom you love particularly.' 26. But he frequently sent half-eaten geese, and halves of loaves, and other such things, ordering the bearer to say in addition: 'Cyrus was delighted with these, therefore he desires that you also should try them.' 27. And when green fodder was very scarce—but he himself was able to procure it for himself, on account of having many agents, and on account of his forethought—sending it amongst them, he requested his friends to cast this fodder before the horses that bore their own persons, so that they might not, whilst hungry, bear his friends. 28. But if, indeed, he ever proceeded forth, and very many were likely to behold him, calling his friends to him, he engaged in earnest conversation with them, that he might show whom he distinguished; so that, for my part, from what [I am accustomed] to hear, I consider that no one, either of Greeks or of barbarians, was beloved by more. 29. And this [circumstance] also [is] a proof of this [assertion]. From Cyrus, while still [*lit.* being] a subject, no one deserted to the king, except that Orontes endeavoured [to do so]; and this [slave], indeed, whom [Orontes] thought to be faithful to him, he quickly found to be more friendly to Cyrus than to himself; but many withdrew from the king to Cyrus, when they became enemies to each other; and even those who were most favoured [*lit.* beloved] by him [*i.e.* the king], did so, considering that if they were [*lit.* being] deserving, they would obtain more honourable dignity [*lit.* more worthy honour] with Cyrus than with the king. 30. But this also which happened to him at the close of his life [is] a great proof that both he himself was excellent, and [that] he was able to correctly distinguish faithful, well-disposed, and steadfast friends. 31. For when he fell, all his [personal] friends and the guests-at-his-table, who were with him, died, fighting for Cyrus, except Ariæus; but he happened to be stationed at the left wing, commanding his cavalry; but when he heard that Cyrus had fallen, he fled, having also [with him] all the troops that he commanded.

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6. During this [time] the king also was evidently again marching upon them, as it seemed, from the rear; and the Greeks facing round, made preparations against them, as if he were advancing in that direction, and [as if they] intended to receive him. But the king did not lead [his

troops] in that direction, but by the route in which he passed beyond the left wing, by that same route he also led them back, taking along with him those who had deserted to the Greeks during the combat, and also Tissaphernes, and those with him. 7. For Tissaphernes had not fled at the first encounter, but had charged along the river, right through the Grecian targeteers; but, charging through these, he slew no one, but the Greeks struck his troops [with swords], and hurled their javelins at them. But Episthenes of Amphipolis commanded the targeteers, and was said to [have then proved himself] to be a prudent [leader]. 8. Accordingly, Tissaphernes, when he withdrew, having got the worst of it, [*lit.* having less, *i.e.* than the Greeks], does not turn back again, but, arriving at the encampment of the Greeks, he there meets with the king, and, having marshalled their forces, they went back again together. 9. But when they were in front of the left wing of the Greeks, the Greeks feared lest they should lead [their troops] against that wing, and outflanking them [*lit.* folding round them] on both sides, should cut them to pieces; and it seemed right to them to fold back the wing [*i.e.* to wheel round], and to get [*lit.* to cause to be for themselves] the river behind them.

10. But whilst they were considering about these things, just then the king placed his phalanx opposite to them, having changed to the same arrangement as when he had at first come up with them, about to fight. But when the Greeks beheld them both being near and marshalled against them, again singing the pæan, they advanced more eagerly than before. 11. But again the barbarians did not await [their onset], but, at a greater distance than previously, they took to flight: but they pursued as far as a certain village; there the Greeks halted.

12. For above the village there was an eminence on which those around the king had fled for refuge [from the Greeks]; not any longer, indeed, foot-soldiers, but the hill was crowded with horsemen, so that [the Greeks] could not know what was taking place. And they said that they saw the royal standard a kind of golden eagle elevated upon a shield [*or*, spear-shaft]. 13. But when the Greeks proceeded to this place also, then the horsemen leave the hill also; no longer, indeed, collected together, but severally, from different parts [of the hill], and the hill was being cleared of the horsemen, and at last they all had retired. 14. But Clearchus did not lead his men up

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the hill, but having halted his troops under it, he sends Lycius, the Syracusan, and another, to the crest of the hill, and he orders that, having observed the proceedings beyond the hill, they should bring back word [about] what is [going on]. 15. But Lycius rode up, and having reconnoitred [*lit.* having seen], he announces that [the enemy] are flying at full speed; and about the time when these things took place, the sun was setting [*lit.* and nearly at the time when these things were, the sun was also setting]. 16. Thereupon the Greeks halted, and having put down their arms, they rested themselves; and at the same time they were surprised that Cyrus did not appear anywhere, and that there was not **any other** [person] present from him; for they did **not** know that he had perished, but they imagined, either that he had gone off in pursuit, or had marched forward to seize some [position]. 17. And they consulted together, whether remaining there, they should bring the beasts of burden to that quarter [*or*, 'should have their baggage brought' to that quarter.—*Macmichael. lit.* there], or should withdraw to the encampment. They determined [*lit.* it seemed right to them], therefore to withdraw, and they arrive at the tents about supper time. 18. This, then, was the end of that day. But they find most of their other property plundered, and whatsoever there was either eatable or drinkable; even the wagons full of wheaten-flour and of wine which Cyrus had prepared, in order that if ever a great scarcity of provisions should assail the camp [*lit.* want should violently assail the camp], he might distribute this [store] to the Greeks; but these wagons were four hundred [in number], as was reported [*lit.* as they were said to be]; these, then, also, the followers of the king [*lit.* those with the king] had plundered. 19. So that most of the Greeks were without supper, but they had also been without dinner; for before the army halted [*lit.* unyoked, *i.e.* the horses] for dinner, the king had appeared. And they passed that night in **this manner**.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

1. How then the Grecian armament was collected for Cyrus, when he was preparing the expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and what things were done on the march upwards, and how the battle was [fought], and how Cyrus died [*lit.* ended, *i.e.* his life], and how the Greeks, having arrived at their encampment, lay down to rest, thinking they were completely [*lit.* in all things] victorious, and that Cyrus was still living, has been explained in the previous book. 2. But with the [dawn] of day, the generals, coming together, wondered that Cyrus neither sent another [person] to intimate what it is necessary for them to do, nor appeared himself. It seemed right to them, accordingly, that, having packed up what they possessed, and having armed themselves, they should proceed further in advance, until they should unite with Cyrus. 3. But when they were already on the move, with the rising sun, came Procles, the governor of Teuthrania, descended from Damaratus, the Lacedæmonian, and also Glus, the son of Tamos. These announced that Cyrus indeed was dead, and that Ariæus, having fled, was along with the rest of the barbarians at the halting-place from which they had set out on the preceding day, and that he said he would wait for them during that day, if they intended to come, but that on the next day he would depart for Ionia, whence he had set out. 4. Having heard this intelligence [*lit.* these things], the generals and the other Greeks were deeply grieved [*lit.* bore them heavily]. But Clearchus spoke thus: 'Oh! would then that Cyrus were living! [*lit.* Cyrus, then, ought to be living]. But since he is dead, tell Ariæus both that we indeed are victorious over [*lit.* conquer] the king and, as you see, no one

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any longer contends against us; and, that if you had not come, we should have been now marching against the king. But we guarantee to Ariæus, if he will come hither, that we will place him on the throne of the king, for supreme authority [*lit.* the ruling] belongs to those who conquer in battle.'

5. Having spoken thus, he sends away the messengers, and along with them Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian, and Menon the Thessalian; for Menon himself wished [to be sent], for he was a friend and a guest-friend of Ariæus. 6. They accordingly departed; but Clearchus awaited [their return]. And the army supplied itself with food in whatever way it could, from the beasts of burden, slaughtering the oxen and asses; and they used as fuel [*lit.* wood]—advancing a little from the main body [to the place] where the battle had been fought—the arrows, being very numerous, which the Greeks had compelled the deserters from the king to throw away, and the wicker bucklers and wooden Egyptian shields; there were also there many round shields and empty wagons to be carried off [for fuel], making use of all of which, and cooking their meat, they ate it on that day.

7. And now it was about the [time of] full market, and from the king and Tissaphernes there came heralds, the others, indeed, barbarians, but one of these [heralds] was Phalinus, a Greek, who happened to be with Tissaphernes, and was held in honour, for he professed to be skilled in all affairs with regard to tactics and heavy-armed fighting. 8. But these having come up, and having summoned the leaders of the Greeks, say, that the king orders the Greeks, since he happens to be the conqueror, and had slain Cyrus, having surrendered their arms, and proceeding to the gates of the king, to find favour, if they can [find] any [*lit.* to find for themselves if they can, something good].

9. The heralds of the king, indeed, said these things, and the Greeks heard them with indignation [*lit.* heard them heavily]; however, Clearchus said this much only, that it was not the part of conquerors to deliver up their arms. 'But,' said he, 'do ye, indeed, O generals, give to them whatever answer you consider the most honourable and the best, and I will come immediately.' For one of the attendants had called him, in order that he might see the entrails that had been taken out [from the victims], since he happened to be sacrificing. 10. Then, indeed, Cleanor the Arcadian, being the eldest [of those present], answered, that they would die rather

than [*lit.* before that they would] surrender their arms. And Proxenus the Theban exclaimed, 'But I wonder, O Phalinus, whether the king demands our arms as conquering, or as gifts on account of friendship. For if, indeed, [he asks them] as if conquering, why is it requisite that he should ask, and not come and take them? But if he wishes to receive them, having persuaded us, let him state what shall be [remaining] for the soldiers, if they should give these to him as a favour.' 11. In reply to these things Phalinus said: 'The king considers that he is victorious, since he has slain Cyrus. For who is there who can lay claim to the sovereignty against him? But he considers that you also are his, since he has you in the centre of his country, within impassable rivers, being also able to lead against you a multitude of men, so great as, not even if he should surrender them to you, would you be able to kill them.'

12. After him Xenophon, an Athenian, said: 'O Phalinus! now, as you see, we have [*lit.* there is for us] nothing valuable, except our arms and our valour; therefore, indeed, retaining our arms, we think that we could display our valour also, but if we should surrender these, we should be deprived of our bodies also. Do not then imagine that we shall surrender the only things that are good for us, but with these [arms] we will fight even for your goods.' 13. But Phalinus having heard these things laughed and exclaimed: 'You seem like a philosopher, O young man, and you speak not unpleasantly; however, be assured that you are foolish if you think that you could conquer the power of the king.' 14. But they reported that some of the others [*lit.* certain others], becoming dispirited, said, that they both had been faithful to Cyrus, and they might be worth much to the king, if he wished to be their friend, and that whether he wishes to employ them in any other [occupation], or to take the field against Egypt, they might help him to subdue it. 15. At this [juncture] Clearchus also came, and he inquired whether they had already given an answer. But Phalinus, taking up [the conversation] said: 'O Clearchus, these men, indeed, speak each different things, but do you declare to us what answer you give' [*lit.* what you say]. 16. But he said: 'O Phalinus, I gladly have seen you, and I think all the others also [have gladly seen you]; for both you are a Greek, and we also, being as many as you see [are Greeks], but being in such [difficult] circumstances, we ask your advice as to what it is necessary that we should do concerning what you say.'

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17. Do you, therefore, by the Gods, advise us as to what appears to you to be the most noble and the best, and [as to that] which shall bring honour to you at [all future time], when [it is] related that Phalinus formerly having been sent by the king to order the Greeks to surrender their arms, when asked his own opinion, advised them thus. But you know that there is a necessity that whatever you may advise should be reported in Greece.'

18. But Clearchus made these suggestions, being desirous that the very person sent as an ambassador from the king should advise them not to surrender their arms, in order that the Greeks might be in better hopes. But Phalinus having baffled him [*or*, having artfully evaded the appeal], contrary to his expectation, spoke thus :

19. 'I, indeed, if there is for you any one [hope] out of ten thousand hopes, that, waging war against the king, you may be saved, I advise you not to surrender your arms; but if there is no hope of safety, whilst the king is unwilling, I advise you to save yourselves in whatever manner it may be possible.' 20. In reply to these words, Clearchus said : 'Well, you say these things, but report from us this [reply], that we think, if on the one hand it is necessary that we should be friends to the king, as friends we would be worth more, having our arms, than having surrendered them to another; but if it be necessary that we should wage war [along with him], that we should wage war better [by] retaining our arms, than [by] surrendering them to another.' 21. But Phalinus said, 'We, indeed, shall announce these replies; but the king also commanded us to say this to you, that for you, indeed, remaining here [*i.e.* on condition of your remaining here] there would be a truce; but for you marching forward or departing hence [the result would be] war. Answer us, therefore, concerning this also, whether you will remain, and [that] there is a truce, or whether I shall report the reply from you, as if war existed.'

22. But Clearchus said, 'Therefore, concerning this also, bring back word that the same [conditions] seem good to us also which [seem good] to the king also.' 'What then are these?' Phalinus replied. 'If we remain, a truce, but for us departing or advancing, war.' 23. But he asked, 'Shall I announce peace [*lit.* a truce], or war?' But Clearchus again gave the same answers [*lit.* answered the same things].

'A truce for us remaining, but for us retreating or advancing, war.' But he did not clearly intimate what he would do.

CHAPTER II.

1. THEN, indeed, Phalinus went away, and his followers [*lit.* those with him] also. But those from Ariæus came, Procles and Cheirisophus, but Menon stayed behind there with Ariæus; and these declared that Ariæus says, that there are many Persians more noble than himself, who would not tolerate his being king; 'but if you wish to go away along with him, he requests you to come now by night; but if not, he says that he shall depart [by] himself at dawn.' 2. But Clearchus replied, 'Well, it is necessary to do so, if, indeed, we come as you propose; but if not, do whatsoever you may think will benefit you the most.' But what he intended to do, he did not mention even to them. 3. After these things, [when] the sun was now setting, having called together the generals and captains, he spoke to this effect [*lit.* such (words)]: 'To me, O soldiers, [when] sacrificing, the victims were not favourable for marching against the king. And naturally, indeed, they were not. For, as I now understand, in the midst between us and the king there is the river Tigris, capable of being passed by ships, which we would not be able to pass over without boats; but boats we have not. And to remain here, at least, is not possible, for it is impossible to obtain supplies; but [for] our going to the friends of Cyrus, the victims were completely favourable to us. 4. Thus, then, it is necessary to act; that we should go away and dine on whatever each one has; but when the trumpeter shall give the signal with the trumpet, as if to go to rest, pack up your baggage; but when [he gives the signal] for the second time, place it upon the beasts of burden; and at the third [signal], follow him who leads [*or*, the leading division], having the beasts of burden close upon the river, and the heavy-armed men [*lit.* arms] outside.' 5. The generals and captains having heard these words, went away and did so, and thenceforward [*lit.* for the remaining (time)], the one acted as a commander, and the others obeyed, not having selected him,

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but perceiving that he alone thought of such things as it behoved a general [to think of], while the rest were inexperienced. 6. But the extent of the distance [over] which the Greeks had come from Ephesus of Ionia up to the [field of] battle was three and ninety stages, five hundred and thirty-five parasangs, sixteen thousand and fifty [*lit.* fifty and six thousand, and ten thousand] stadia, and there were said to be three thousand and sixty stadia from the [field of] battle to Babylon.

7. From this place, indeed, when darkness came on, Miltocythes the Thracian, having the cavalry under him to [the number of] forty, and of the Thracian infantry about three hundred, deserted to the king. 8. Clearchus, however, led the others, according to the instructions issued, but they followed; and they arrive at the first station, near Ariæus and his army, about midnight, and having drawn up their men in order, the generals and the captains of the Greeks proceeded together to Ariæus; and both the Greeks and Ariæus, and the most influential of those with him, swore both that they would not betray each other, and that they would be [faithful] allies; but the barbarians swore in addition, that they would guide them without treachery. 9. But they swore these [oaths], having slain a boar and a bull, and a wolf, and a ram, dipping, the Greeks, indeed, a sword, but the barbarians a spear, into the shield [containing the blood]. 10. But when the pledges of faith had been given, Clearchus said, 'Come then, O Ariæus! since there is the same expedition both for you and for us, state what opinion you hold with regard to our march; whether shall we depart by the road [by] which we came, or do you think that you have found out any other better route?' 11. But he replied, 'Retreating by the road [by] which we came, we should all completely perish by hunger, for none of the necessities of life are now remaining for us. For, in the seventeen marches nearest to this, not even when advancing hither, have we been able to obtain anything from the country, but if there was anything there we have made use of it, when marching through. Now we intend to march by a longer route indeed, but we shall not be in need of supplies. 12. But we must proceed, on our first marches, as great a distance [*lit.* as long] as we can, in order that we may draw away to the greatest distance from the royal army; for, if once we shall be distant two or three days' march, the king

would no longer be able to overtake us. For, indeed, he will not dare to pursue us with a small army; but, having a vast army, he will not be able to advance quickly; and perhaps, also, he will be short of supplies. I have,' said he, 'this opinion.'

13. Now, this [kind of] generalship amounted to nothing else than stealing away secretly, or flying openly, but Fortune led the army more gloriously. For when it was day, they advanced, having the sun upon their right, calculating that they would arrive at sunset [*lit.* along with the setting sun], at the villages of the Babylonian country; and in this, indeed, they were not mistaken. 14. But when it was about evening, they supposed that they saw the enemy's cavalry, and those of the Greeks who chanced not to be in their ranks ran to their posts, and Aræus (for he happened to be proceeding in a waggon, because he had been wounded), having come down from it, put on his corselet, as [did also] those along with him. 15. But whilst they were putting on their armour, the scouts that had been sent forward returned, saying, that they are not cavalry, but beasts of burden that are pasturing. And at once they all knew that the king was encamped somewhere near, for smoke also appeared in the villages not far away. 16. But Clearchus did not lead them against the enemy, for he knew that the soldiers were both exhausted and without food, and it was already late; however, he did not swerve from his road, taking care lest he might seem to flee, but leading [the troops in a straight direction, with the setting sun, into the nearest villages, having [with him] the van-guard, he encamped; out of which [villages] even the very timbers from the houses had been plundered by the army of the king. 17. The foremost [troops], however, encamped there in some sort of order, but those in the rear, arriving in the dark, quartered themselves as they severally chanced [to find quarters], and made a great disturbance, calling out to one another, so that some of the enemies nearest to them even ran away from their tents. 18. And this [fact] became evident on the next [morning], for there was no longer visible either any beast of burden, or camp, or smoke anywhere near. But the king also, as it appeared, was terrified at the approach of the army; for he proved this by what he did on the next day. 19. And, indeed, as this night advanced, a panic falls upon the Greeks also, and there was a tumult and a loud noise, such as is likely to arise, when dismay has fallen upon [an army]. 20. But Clearchus ordered Tolmides the Elean, whom he happened

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to have with him, the best herald of those then [existing]—[he ordered] this [man], having proclaimed silence, to loudly announce that the generals give notice, that whosoever shall give information of the person who let loose the ass into [the place of arms], shall receive as a reward a talent of silver. 21. Now when this was proclaimed, the soldiers knew that their alarm was groundless, and that their leaders [were] safe. And, with the dawn, Clearchus commanded the Greeks to station themselves under arms in the order in which they were [*lit.* to arrange their arms in that order in which they were] when the battle was fought.

CHAPTER III.

1. Now what I have just written, that the king was panic-stricken at this advance, was evident in this manner; for, on the preceding day, sending [a messenger], he ordered [the Greeks] to surrender their arms, but then with the rising sun he sent heralds respecting a truce. 2. But when they came to the outposts, they asked for the commanders; and when the advanced-guards reported this, Clearchus happening to be at that time inspecting the ranks, directed the advanced-guards to order the heralds to wait until he should be at leisure. 3. But when he had arranged the army, so that it was disposed well for being seen to be a dense phalanx in all directions, and that none of those without arms should be visible, he called the envoys, and both he himself came forward, having with him both the best armed and the most comely of his own soldiers, and he told the other leaders [to do] the same. 4. But when they were near the envoys, he asked what they wanted. But they said that they were men [who had] come respecting a truce, who will be proper persons both to announce to the Greeks the words of the king, and to the king those from the Greeks. 5. But he answered, 'Bring back word to the king, then, that there is need of battle first, for we have no breakfast, nor is there any one who will dare to speak to the Greeks respecting a truce, unless he has provided breakfast.' 6. The envoys having heard these things went

away, and returned quickly, by which [circumstance] it was manifest that the king was somewhere near, or some other person to whom commands had been given to transact these affairs; and they said that they appeared to the king to speak reasonably, and that they were come having guides, who, if a truce be concluded, would lead them to a place from which they could obtain supplies. 7. But he asked them whether the armistice would be for those men themselves coming and retiring, or whether the armistice will be [extended] to the others also. But they said, 'To all, until the [proposals] from you be announced to the king.' 8. But when they had spoken thus, Clearchus having caused them to withdraw, deliberated [with the others]; and it seemed good that the armistice should be made quickly, and that, in peace, they should go for the supplies and receive them. 9. But Clearchus said, 'These [conditions] indeed appear advisable to me also; however, I will not announce this hastily, but I shall delay until the envoys may be apprehensive lest it may be contrary to our intention that the truce should be made. I think, however,' said he, 'that the same fear will exist in our own soldiers also.' But when it seemed to be the right time, he announced that he was willing to make a truce, and he requested them to lead the way to the supplies.

10. And they indeed led them. Clearchus, however, advanced about to conclude the treaty, but having his army in battle-array [*lit.* order], but he in person led the rear-guard. And they encountered [on their way] trenches and canals full of water, so that they could not cross them without bridges; but they made bridges of the palm-trees which had fallen, and they cut down others. 11. And here it was possible to perceive how Clearchus commanded, holding, indeed, in his left hand his spear, and in his right hand a staff; and if any one appointed for this [purpose] appeared to him to be indolent, picking out the proper man, he used to smite him, and at the same time he himself going into the mire, shared in the labour; so that it was a disgrace to all not to work zealously. 12. And there were indeed appointed for this work those who were thirty years of age, and when they saw Clearchus himself labouring earnestly, the older men also took part in it. 13. But Clearchus advanced with much greater speed, suspecting that these trenches were not always so full of water, for it was not the season suitable [*lit.* such as to] irrigate the plain, but in order that many difficulties might

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now present themselves to the Greeks with regard to their march, on account of this [motive] he suspected that the king had let flow the water over the plain. 14. But advancing they arrived at villages, from which the guides showed them that they should take supplies. In them there was corn, and abundance of [*lit. much*] wine [pressed] from palm-trees, and vinegar boiled down from the same. 15. But the dates themselves of the palm-trees, such, indeed, as one may see amongst the Greeks, are set apart for the domestics, but those reserved for the masters were selected, remarkable for their fine appearance and size, and their appearance differed in no degree from amber. But some persons, drying these, laid them by as preserves. And [the wine], during the drinking, was sweet indeed, but was productive of headache. 16. Here also the soldiers first ate the pith [*lit. marrow*] of the palm-tree, and many wondered both at the nature of the food, and at the peculiarity of the flavour. But this also was very productive of headache. But the palm-tree from which the pith [*or crown*] was taken away entirely withers.

17. There they halted three days, and from the great king there came Tissaphernes and the brother of the wife of the king, and three other Persians; but numerous slaves followed. But when the generals of the Greeks met them, Tissaphernes first spoke thus by an interpreter:

18. 'I, O Grecian men, dwell a neighbour to Greece, and when I perceived that you had fallen into many and [almost] inextricable misfortunes, I considered it [an unexpected] gain, if by any means I might be able to entreat from the king to grant me [the privilege] to restore you safely into Greece. For I think, that in that case, I would not receive ingratitude from you, nor from all Greece. 19. But knowing these things, I asked the king, saying to him, that he might justly confer this favour on me, because I first told him that Cyrus was leading an expedition against him, and, together with the intelligence, I came, having an auxiliary force; and I alone of those stationed against the Greeks did not take to flight, but I burst through [their line], and I united with the king in your camp, where the king arrived when he had killed Cyrus. And the barbarians under Cyrus I pursued with those who are now here along with me, who, indeed, are most faithful to him. 20. And about these things he promised me that he would consider; but he commanded me, having come, to ask you on account of what you have undertaken this expedi-

tion against him. And I advise you to answer moderately, in order that it may be more easily accomplished by me, if I may be able to obtain any advantage for you from him.'

21. At these words, the Greeks, having withdrawn, deliberated and replied; but Clearchus spoke: 'We neither came together as intending to make war against the king, nor did we march against the king; but Cyrus found many excuses, as you also are well aware, in order that both he might surprise you unprepared, and might lead us here. 22. However, when we recently saw him being in peril, we felt ashamed, both before gods and men, to betray him; we, who in time past presented ourselves (to him) to treat well, *i.e.*, to be made objects of his bounty [*Macmichael*]. 23. But since Cyrus is dead, we neither contend with the king for his empire, nor is there any motive on account of which we should be desirous to devastate the country of the king; neither do we desire to kill him. But we would march homewards, if no one should assail us; however, with the assistance of the gods, we will try to punish [*or* repel] any one that injures us. If, however, any one should be the first to show kindness [*lit.* should begin doing well to us], to the best of our ability, at least, we will not be inferior to him [*in*] doing good.' He indeed spoke thus.

24. But Tissaphernes, having heard this, said: 'I will announce these things to the king, and the [answer] from him again to you; but until I return, let the truce continue, and we shall afford you a market.' 25. And on the next day, indeed, he did not come, so that the Greeks were becoming uneasy; but coming on the third day, he said that he returned, having obtained from the king [the privilege] that it should be permitted to him to preserve the Greeks, although very many said, in opposition, that it would be unworthy of the king to let those go who had taken the field against himself. 26. And in fine he said, 'It is now permitted to you to receive pledges of faith from us, that assuredly we will render the territory friendly to you, and that, without treachery, we will lead you back into Greece, affording you a market. But whenever we may not supply a market, we will allow you to take supplies from the country. 27. But it will be requisite that you in your turn should swear, that you will, in good faith, march without depredation, as if through a friendly country, taking [merely] food and drink, whenever we may not afford you a market; but if we afford a market, [to

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swear] that you will procure your supplies [by] purchasing them.' 28. These proposals seemed good, and they swore; and Tissaphernes and the brother of the wife of the king gave [the pledge of] their right hands to the generals and centurions of the Greeks, and they received [the same pledges] from the Greeks. 29. And after these [transactions], Tissaphernes said, 'Now, indeed, I will return to the king; but when I shall have obtained what I am requesting, I will come as about to lead you into Greece, and myself intending to return to my own government.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. AFTER these [events], both the Greeks and Ariæus, being encamped near each other, were waiting for Tissaphernes for more than twenty days. And during these days, there came to Ariæus both his brothers and other near relatives, and to those along with him [there came also] some of the Persians, both encouraging them, and bringing to some assurances of good faith [*lit.* right hands] on the part of the king, that the king would not recollect, as an evil deed on their part, their expedition against him along with Cyrus, nor any other of the past events. 2. Now while these things were being done, Ariæus and his followers [*lit.* those around Ariæus] were evident as paying less attention to the Greeks; so [much so] that this [conduct] did not please many of the Greeks, but coming up, they said to Clearchus and to the other commanders: 3. 'Why do we remain [here]? Are we not aware that the king would consider it of the utmost importance to destroy us, in order that terror may be instilled into the other Greeks, [so as] **not to engage** in hostilities against the great king? And now, indeed, he is inducing us to remain on account of his army being scattered, but when the army shall have collected again for him, it is not possible but that he will attack us. 4. Perhaps, too, he is digging some trench to cut us off somewhere, or erecting a wall, so that the road may be impassable. For never, willingly at least, will he consent, that we returning [*lit.* going] to Greece, should report that we being so few [*lit.*

so many] conquered the power of the king at his very gates, and deriding him came away.'

5. But Clearchus replied to those saying these things: 'I do, indeed, bear in mind all these things; but I consider, if we now depart, that we will appear to depart on terms of war, and to act contrary to the truce. Then, in the first place, no one will afford us a market, nor [a place] whence we may procure food; and, again, there will be no one who will guide us; and at the same time, while we do these things, Ariæus will immediately forsake us, so that not one friend shall be left to us, but those who formerly were friends will be enemies to us. 6. But whether, indeed, there is also any other river that must be crossed [or, capable of being crossed] by us, I do not know; but we know, however, the Euphrates, that it is impossible for us to cross it, if the enemy oppose us. Nor, indeed, if it be necessary for us to fight, have we any horsemen as our allies, but of the enemy the horsemen are the most numerous and the most efficient [*lit.* worth the most], so that even conquering, whom can we slay? But if we are defeated, it is not possible that one of us should be saved. 7. I, for my part then, with regard to the king to whom such numerous advantages belong, if he desires to destroy us, do not know what need there is for him to swear, and to give an assurance of good faith [*lit.* the right hand], and to be guilty of perjury against the gods, and to make his plighted faith not to be relied on by [*lit.* faithless to] both Greeks and barbarians.' He spoke many such sentiments.

8. But at this [juncture] Tissaphernes arrived, having his own troops, as if departing to his home, and Orontas also having his own troops; but he was also taking with him in marriage the daughter of the king.

9. But they now proceeded thence, Tissaphernes leading the way and affording a market; but Ariæus, having the barbaric army of Cyrus, also marched along with Tissaphernes and Orontas, and he encamped along with them. 10. But the Greeks, suspecting these, proceeded alone by themselves [*lit.* themselves by themselves], having guides. And they encamped each time, keeping distant from each other a parasang and less, and they were on their guard against each other, as if enemies, and this immediately excited suspicion. 11. And sometimes also [while] procuring wood from the same place, and collecting forage and other such things, they threatened

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one another with blows [*lit.* they aimed blows at one another] ; so that this also created hatred.

And having proceeded over three stages, they arrive at the wall of Media,* and passed within it, but it was built with baked bricks laid in [*lit.* lying in] bitumen, in width twenty feet, but in height a hundred, and its length was said to be that of twenty parasangs, and it was not far distant from Babylon. 13. Thence they advanced two stages, eight parasangs, and they crossed two canals, one, indeed, over a bridge, and the other bridged-over by seven boats (but these canals flow from the river Tigris, and from them trenches had been cut over the country, the first indeed large, then narrower ones [*lit.* smaller], and at last small channels, as they [are cut] in Greece, over the crops of millet) ; and they arrive at the river Tigris, near which there was a large and populous city, the name of which was Sitace, fifteen stadia distant from the river. 14. The Greeks then encamped beside it, near a park extensive and beautiful, and thickly planted with all kinds of trees ; but the barbarians, [although] having [just] crossed the Tigris, were not, however, visible. 15. But after their repast, Proxenus and Xenophon chanced to be taking a walk [*lit.* being on a walk], in front of [the place of] arms, [when] a certain man, coming near, inquired of the advanced guards where he could see Proxenus or Clearchus. But he did not inquire for Menon, and that, too, [although] being from Ariæus, the friend of Menon. 16. But when Proxenus said that, 'I myself am the person whom you seek ;' the man spoke thus, 'Ariæus has sent me, and Artæzus [also], being faithful to Cyrus, and favourably inclined towards you, and they exhort you to beware, lest the barbarians may attack you during the night, for there is a large army in the neighbouring park. 17. And they exhort you to send a guard to † line the bridge of the river Tigris, because Tissaphernes intends to destroy it during the night, if he can, so that you may not cross over, but be intercepted between the river and the canal.'

18. Having heard these things, they bring him to Clearchus, and relate what he says. But Clearchus, when he heard it, felt uneasy, and was considerably alarmed. 19. But a certain

* This wall was built neither in Media, nor by the Medes, but in Babylonia, for the purpose of restraining the incursions of the Medes.

† Not 'send to the bridge,' but 'send a guard to (line, i.e.) man the bridge.'—*Macmichael*.

young man amongst those present, having reflected for a moment, said, 'That the design of attacking and the design of destroying the bridge were not consistent. For it is manifest that it will be necessary for them, in case they assail us, either to conquer or to be vanquished. If then indeed they conquer, what need is there for them to destroy the bridge? for even though there might be numerous bridges, we should have no place where we might save ourselves by flight. 20. But if, on the other hand, we conquer, then, if the bridge be destroyed, they will have no place to which they may fly; nor indeed will any one, although there may be many on the other side, be able to come to their aid, if the bridge be destroyed.'

21. But Clearchus, having heard these suggestions, asked the messenger how large a kind of region might be this one between the Tigris and the canal [*or trench*]. But he replied that it is extensive, and [*that*] there are villages in it, and many large cities. 22. Then, indeed, it was perceived that the barbarians had insidiously sent this man, fearing lest the Greeks, having broken down [*or, taking to pieces*] the bridge, might remain in the island, having as defences the Tigris on the one side, and the trench on the other, and that they might obtain supplies from the intermediate region, being extensive and fertile, men to cultivate it being within it; and then also it might become a [*place of retreat*] if any one should wish to injure the king. 23. After these things they retired to rest, but notwithstanding they sent a guard to [*line*] the bridge, neither did any one from any direction assail them, nor did any one of the enemy advance to the bridge, as those keeping guard reported. 24. But when it was dawn, they crossed the bridge, connected by means of thirty-seven boats, as carefully on their guard as possible, for certain of the Greeks that were with Tissaphernes had sent them intelligence that whilst they were crossing over [*the enemy*] intended to attack them; but, indeed, these [*reports*] were untrue; however, as they were crossing over, Glus, along with others, was observed by them watching [*to see*] if they would cross the river; but, when he saw them, he rode off and departed.

25. But from the Tigris they marched four stages, twenty parasangs, to the river Phyeus, a plethrum in breadth, and a bridge was over it. And there was situated an extensive city, the name of which was Opis, close to which the illegitimate brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes met the Greeks, leading a large army from Susa and Ecbatana, as if about to bring aid to

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the king, and, having caused his own army to halt, he surveyed the Greeks passing by. 26. But Clearchus, indeed, led his men two by two [*i.e.* two abreast], and advanced, halting from time to time. But for whatever time the vanguard of the army halted, for so long a time it was necessary that a halt should be made throughout the entire army; so that even to the Greeks themselves the army seemed to be very large, and [so] that the Persian, looking on, was astonished. 27. But from this they marched through Media, six desert stages, thirty parasangs, to the villages belonging to Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and the king. These [villages] Tissaphernes permitted the Greeks to plunder, except carrying off the people as slaves [*Macmichael*], in order to insult [the memory of] Cyrus. There was in them, however, much corn, and sheep, and other [commodities]. 28. But thence they advanced four desert stages, twenty parasangs, having the river Tigris on the left hand. But at the first station [*i.e.* at the end of the first day's march] beyond the river, a large and flourishing city was situated, by name Cænæ, from which the barbarians conveyed on rafts made of skins, bread, cheese, and wine.

CHAPTER V.

1. AFTER these events they arrived at the river Zabatus, four plethra in width. And there they remained three days; and during these days [many] suspicions arose, but no treachery seemed evident. 2. It appeared good, therefore, to Clearchus to have an interview with Tissaphernes, and, if he could by any means, to cause the suspicions to cease before war should arise from them; and he sent a certain person to say that he wished to have an interview with him. But the other readily invited him to come. 3. But when they met, Clearchus spoke to this effect: 'I know, indeed, O Tissaphernes, that oaths have been taken by us, and that right hands have been pledged that we will not injure one another: but I see you on your guard against us, as if [against] enemies, and we, seeing these things,

keep on our guard in turn. 4. But since, although watching, I am neither able to detect you in attempting to injure us in any [respect], and [since] I know clearly that we do not intend any such thing, it seemed right to me to come to a conference [*lit.* speech] with you, in order that, if we may be able, we may remove the distrust of one another. 5. For already, also, I have known men, who, some from calumny, and others from [mere] suspicion, fearing one another, and wishing to be beforehand, before they themselves should suffer, have done irreparable mischief to those who neither intended nor wished to do any such thing. 6. Thinking, therefore, that such misunderstandings would be most efficiently put an end to by interviews, I have come here, and I wish to convince you that you distrust us without cause [*lit.* not rightly]. 7. For first, indeed, and chiefly, the oaths by the gods prevent us from being hostile to one another; and whosoever is conscious to himself of having neglected these, that man I indeed would never consider happy. For [as to] a war with the gods, I know not with what manner of speed or to what place retreating any one could escape it, neither into what kind of gloom he could retreat from it, nor how he could retire into any secure place [against it]. For in all directions all things are subject to the gods, and everywhere equally the gods are masters of all things. 8. I think thus, indeed, concerning the gods and our oaths, with whom we, having formed an alliance, have deposited our friendship; but, of mortal things, I, for my part, consider you now to be to us the greatest blessing. 9. For with you, indeed, every road [becomes] easily passable for us, and every river fordable, and [there is] no want of supplies; but without you all our way [lies] through darkness, for we know nothing of it, and every river [is] difficult to be passed, and every multitude is terrible; but solitude [*or*, the desert] is the most terrible [object], for it is replete with much perplexity. 10. But if, then, having even become insane, we should kill you, what else would result than that, after having killed our benefactor, we should enter into a contest against the king, as the sternest avenger? But of what numerous, and of what kind of hopes, I would rob myself, if I attempted to do you any injury; these things I shall mention. 11. For I eagerly wished that Cyrus should become a friend to me, thinking that he was the most competent of the men then existing to benefit whomsoever he might please. But I now see you possessing both the power and the territory of Cyrus,

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and retaining your own government, and [with regard to] the power of the king, which Cyrus found hostile, that this is closely allied to you. 12. Such being the state of affairs, who is so infatuated as not to wish to be a friend to you? Yet still—for I will mention these things also, from which I entertain hopes that you also may desire to be a friend to us. 13. For I am well aware that the Mysians are troublesome to you, whom, I think, with our present troops, I could render humble towards you; and I know that the Pisidians also [are troublesome]; and I hear that there are many other nations of this description, which I think I could cause to cease from continually disturbing your happiness. But [with regard to] the Egyptians, against whom I know that you are now particularly exasperated, I do not see [by] employing what auxiliary force rather than that now present with me, you will more thoroughly chastise them. 14. Assuredly, amongst those inhabiting [the country] round about you, if you would be inclined to be a friend to any, you might become as great [a friend] as possible; and, if any should molest you, you would bear yourself as master, having us as your servants, who would serve you not merely for the sake of pay, but also [on account of] the gratitude which, having been preserved by you, we should justly feel towards you. 15. To me, then, reflecting on all these circumstances, the fact of your distrusting me seems to be so surprising that I would most gladly hear the name [of that person] who is so powerful in speaking as [by] speaking to persuade you that we are conspiring against you.' Clearchus then indeed spoke thus, but Tissaphernes thus replied:

16. 'I am delighted, O Clearchus, even at hearing your prudent words, for, understanding these things, if you should plan anything bad against me, you would appear to be badly disposed at the same time against me and against yourself. But that you may learn that you would not justly distrust either the king or myself, hear this in return. 17. For if we desired to destroy you, whether do we appear to you to be deficient in the number of horsemen, or of infantry, or of heavy-armed men, with which [force] indeed we should be able to hurt you, while there would be no danger of receiving any harm in return? 18. Well, then, do we seem to you to be at a loss for convenient places, [from which] to assail you? Do you not with great labour pass through such vast plains that are friendly to us, and do you not see such vast mountains that must be crossed by you, which it is possible for us, having

preoccupied them, to render them incapable of being crossed by you? Are there not so many rivers, at which it is possible for us to use our own discretion [*lit.* to act as stewards or managers] so as to fight with as many of you as we may please? And there are some of these [rivers] which you could not cross at all, unless we conveyed you over them. 19. But if we be frustrated in all these [designs], yet at least fire is stronger than the crops, [by] burning which we would be able to array famine against you, against which, not even though you be exceedingly valiant, would you be able to contend. 20. In what way, then, having so many methods of carrying on war against you, and none of these dangerous to ourselves, out of all these should we then choose that very way which alone is impious before the gods, and which alone is disgraceful before men? 21. This is altogether the conduct of men destitute of resources and expedients, and impelled by necessity—and these also depraved men—who desire to effect some [purpose] by perjury towards the gods and treachery towards man. O Clearchus, we are neither then so foolish, nor so destitute of reason. 22. But why then, when it was possible for us to destroy you, did we not resort to this [plan]? Be well assured [that] the cause of this is my desire to become trusted by the Greeks, and to go down [to the coast] strolch^y supported on account of my benefits, by that foreign force, relying on which, on account of giving pay, Cyrus came up. 23. But in how many [respects] you are useful to me, these you have partly mentioned, but I know the most important one; for it is lawful for the king alone to wear upon his head the upright tiara, but, by your assistance [*lit.* your being present], another, perhaps, might easily wear the [upright] tiara [*i.e.* the desire of independence] in his heart.

24. Speaking thus, he appeared to Clearchus to speak the truth, and he said, 'Are not those, then,' said he, 'deserving of suffering extreme [punishment], who, when there exist such inducements for friendship, [by] calumniating endeavour to render us enemies?' 25. 'For my part,' said Tissaphernes, 'if you, both the commanders and the captains, wish to come to me openly, I will specify those who assert that you are conspiring both against me and the army with me.' 26. 'And I,' said Clearchus, 'will bring them all, and in my turn I will also declare to you [the source] from which I hear [the same] with regard to you.' 27. After these words, Tissa-

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phernes, welcoming him as a friend, then, indeed, both invited him to remain, and he made him participator in his repast; but, on the next day, Clearchus having come to the encampment, both was evidently thinking that he was on very friendly terms with Tissaphernes, and he related what he had stated; and he said that it was necessary that those whom he ordered should proceed to Tissaphernes, and [that] whosoever of the Greeks should be found guilty [as] calumniating, that they should be punished as being traitors to, and malignant against, the Greeks. 28. For he suspected that Menon was the calumniator, knowing him to have been in company with Tissaphernes, along with Ariaeus, and as being in opposition against himself, and as plotting against him, in order that, taking the whole army to himself, he might be a friend to Tissaphernes. 29. But Clearchus also wished that the whole army should place their affections on himself, and that those who excited discord should be put out of the way. But some of the soldiers spoke against him, [saying], that all the captains and generals should not go, and that he should not trust Tissaphernes. 30. But Clearchus vehemently contended until he accomplished [his purpose], that five generals and twenty captains should go; and there followed with them, as if to a market, about two hundred of the other soldiers also.

31. But when they were at the tent-entrance [*lit. gates*] of Tissaphernes, the generals were invited in—Proxenus the Boeotian; Menon the Thessalian; Agias the Arcadian; Clearchus the Lacedæmonian; and Socrates the Achæan—but the captains stayed at the tent-entrance [*lit. gates*]. 32. And not long after, at the same signal, both those within were seized and those outside were massacred. But after these [deeds], some of the barbarian cavalry, riding through the plain, whatsoever Greek they met with, whether slave or freeman, they killed them all. 33. Now the Greeks, seeing it from the encampment, both wondered at the charges of these horsemen, and were uncertain as to what they were doing, until Nicarchus the Arcadian, flying, came to them, having been wounded in the belly, and holding back his intestines in his hands, and he related all that had occurred. 34. Upon this, then, the Greeks rushed to their arms, all being exceedingly alarmed, and thinking that they [*i.e.* the enemy] would immediately advance upon the encampment. 35. But, indeed, they all did not come, but [only] Ariaeus, and Artabazus, and Mithridates, who used to be the most con-

fidential friends of Cyrus; but the interpreter of the Greeks said that he saw also along with them the brother of Tissaphernes, and that he recognised him, but others of the Persians also followed with him, about three hundred, armed with corselets. 36. But when these were near, they ordered that, if there should be any one of the Greeks either a general or a captain, he should stand forth, in order that they might announce [the commands] from the king. 37. After these things there came forth of the Greeks, being guarded, the generals — Cleanor the Orchomenian, and Sophænetus the Stymphalian; and along with them, Xenophon the Athenian, in order that he might ascertain intelligence concerning Proxenus. But Chirisophus, along with others, happened to be in some village obtaining supplies. 38. But when they stood within hearing distance, Ariæus spoke thus: 'Clearchus, indeed, O men of Greece, since he [evidently] appeared as both breaking his oath and violating the truce, has suffered punishment, and has died; but Proxenus and Menon, because they gave information of his plot, are in great honour; but the king demands from you your arms, for he says that they belong to him, since they belonged to Cyrus, his subject.'

39. To these [demands] the Greeks replied, but Cleanor of Orchomenus spoke: 'O Ariæus, basest of men, and the rest of you, as many as were friends of Cyrus, are you not ashamed, either before gods or men? You, who, having sworn to us that you would regard the same persons as friends and enemies [as we do], in conjunction with Tissaphernes—both the most profane and most deceitful of men—having betrayed us, have destroyed those very men to whom you swore; and, after having betrayed the remainder of us, you [now] march against us, along with our enemies.' 40. But Ariæus replied, ['Yes, and justly so], for Clearchus was previously evidently plotting against Tissaphernes and Orontas, and all of us who are with these.' 41. Upon this, Xenophon spoke thus: 'Clearchus, then, has received his punishment, since, contrary to the oaths, he has violated the truce—for it is right that perjurers should perish—but, since Proxenus and Menon are both your benefactors and our leaders, send them here; for it is manifest that, being at least friends to both [parties], they will endeavour to advise whatever is best both for you and for us.' 42. To these things the barbarians, having conversed for a long time with one another, went away without giving any reply.

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CHAPTER VI.

1. THE generals then, having been thus seized, were brought to the king, and, their heads having been cut off, they ended their lives; one of them, indeed, Clearchus, as was acknowledged by all who had any knowledge of him, having appeared to be both skilled in war and exceedingly fond of war. 2. For, indeed, as long as there was war to the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, he remained [in his own country]; but when peace ensued, having persuaded his own fellow-citizens [*lit. city*] that the Thracians are injuring the Greeks, and having effected his purpose in what way he could from the Ephors, he set sail, as if intending to make war against those Thracians [who dwelt] beyond the Chersonesus and Perinthus. 3. But when the Ephors, for some reason having changed their minds when he was already outside their district, endeavoured to turn him back from the Isthmus, then he is no longer obedient, but departed on his voyage [*lit. sailing*] to the Hellespont. 4. In consequence of this also he was doomed to death by the authorities at Sparta, as being disobedient. But now, being an exile, he comes to Cyrus; and by what kind of words he persuaded Cyrus has been described elsewhere. 5. But Cyrus gives him ten thousand darics. But he, having taken them, did not turn aside to indolence, but, by means of these sums, having collected an army, he waged war against the Thracians, and both defeated them in battle, and from that time he both pillaged and plundered them; and he continued to wage war upon them until Cyrus required his army, but then he departed, as if again intending to carry on war in conjunction with him.

6. These, then, appear to me to be the characteristics of a man [naturally] fond of war, who, whilst it was possible for him to enjoy peace without dishonour and injury, prefers to make war; and whilst it is possible for him to remain in indolence, prefers to labour, so as to make war; and whilst it is possible for him to have wealth without danger, prefers to carry on war [in order] to render this wealth less. But he wished to lavish his money on war, just as [as he might have done] upon a favourite, or upon any other gratification, so fond of war was he. 7. And, again, he appeared in this way to be a man fitted for war, because he was both fond of [encoun-

tering] danger, and [was] leading [his army] against the enemy both by day and by night; and he possessed presence of mind [*lit.* he was discreet] in dangers, as all those who were with him universally confessed. 8. But he was said also to be fitted for command, as far as was possible from such a temperament as he possessed. For he was able, as well as any other person, to contrive how his army should obtain supplies, and to procure them; but he was able also to impress upon those about him [*lit.* those present] that they must not disobey Clearchus. 9. But he accomplished this from the fact of his being severe. For, indeed, he was austere to look upon, and harsh in voice; and he used to punish severely, and occasionally in anger, so that he even repented sometimes [*lit.* there are times when he repented]. But he punished also on principle [*or* with discretion], for he thought that no advantage could be [gained] from an army unrestrained by punishment. 10. But they also report that he used to say that it is necessary that the soldier should fear his commander more than the enemy, whether he is about to keep guard well, or to refrain from friends [*or* allies], or to advance without hesitation against the enemy. 11. In dangerous [emergencies], therefore, the soldiers wished to listen to him, and they preferred no other [leader]. For they also said, 'that his sternness then looked cheerful amongst the countenances of the rest' [*i.e.* contrasted with them—*Macmichael*; *or* that the sternness in his features then appeared bright], and what was harsh seemed to be firmly concentrated [*lit.* confirmed] against the enemy; so that this appeared to be a safeguard, and no longer a [repulsive] severity. 12. But whenever they were out of their danger, and it was permitted to them to go to other commanders, many used to leave him, for he had no ingratiating quality, but he was always gloomy and severe; so that the soldiers had the same inclination towards him as scholars towards a master. 13. Accordingly, he never had any [soldiers] following him through friendship or kindly feeling; but whosoever might be present with him, either being placed under him by a city, or being compelled by want or any other necessity, these he experienced as [*or* rendered] most obedient. 14. But when also with him they began to conquer the enemy, there were already powerful inducements which caused the soldiers with him to be useful; for there was both present in them the [quality of] possessing courage against the enemy, and the fear of punishment from him rendered them

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orderly. 15. Such was he as a commander ; but he was said not to like much to be commanded by others. But when he died he was about fifty years old.

16. But Proxenus the Boeotian when quite a youth [*lit.* immediately, being a youth] was anxious to become a man capable of doing great things, and on account of this longing he gave money to Georgias the Leontine. 17. But when he took part with him, considering himself to be both competent to command, and that, being a friend to the chief men, he would not be inferior to any in conferring favours, he joined in these enterprises along with Cyrus, and he thought that from these he should gain a great reputation, great power, and immense wealth. 18. However, although eagerly desiring these things, he made [*lit.* had] also this [principle] very evident, that he would wish to gain none of these [advantages] by injustice, but he thought that he ought to win them by justice and honour, but not without these [qualities]. 19. But he was adapted, indeed, to rule the honourable and the good ; but not, however, adapted to inspire in his soldiers either respect for himself or fear ; but he felt more respect for his soldiers than those commanded by him [felt] for him ; and he evidently dreaded more the fact of being detested by his soldiers than the soldiers [dreaded] the fact of being disobedient to him. 20. He thought it, moreover, to be sufficient for actually being and for seeming to be fitted for command to praise the person that acted well, and not to praise him that acted wrong. Therefore, of those who were with him, the honourable and good were well-disposed towards him, but the unjust plotted against him, as against one easily imposed on. But when he died he was about thirty years of age.

21. But Menon the Thessalian was manifestly exceedingly desirous of wealth, and desirous also to command, in order that he might gain the more ; and desirous of being honoured in order that he might gain the more ; and he was anxious to be a friend to the most influential men, in order that when acting unjustly he might not suffer punishment. 22. But for the accomplishment of the objects which he desired, he thought that the shortest path lay [*lit.* was] through perjury, falsehood, and deceit ; but whatever was sincere [*lit.* simple] and true he considered to be the same as folly. 23. But he had manifestly no sincere regard for any one, but to whomsoever he said that he was a friend,

against him he was evidently plotting. And, indeed, he derided no enemy, but he always conversed in such a manner as if ridiculing all his associates. 24. And, indeed, against the property of his enemies he laid no snares, for he thought it to be a difficult matter to obtain the property of those that were on their guard, but he thought that he alone was aware that it would be the easiest thing possible to plunder the unguarded property of friends. 25. And as many as he knew [to be] perjured and unjust, he dreaded them as being well-armed, but he tried to take advantage of the upright and those who revered truth, as if being weak-minded [*lit.* cowardly]. 26. But just as any one [else] prides himself in piety, and in truth, and in justice, so also did Menon take delight in being able to deceive, in making up lies, [and] in deriding his friends; but he always regarded the man [who is] not treacherous as one of the uneducated [*i.e.* a simpleton]. And with whomsoever he endeavoured to occupy the first place in friendship, these he thought that he ought to gain over [by] calumniating those who were already foremost there [*i.e.* those who occupied the first place in their esteem]. 27. He contrived also that his soldiers should be obedient to him, by joining to their injustice. But he claimed to be honoured and respected, by making it evident that he could, and would, do the greatest injury. But he considered it an act of generosity, whenever any one withdrew from him, that, when availing himself of his services, he did not destroy him. 28. And it is possible to erroneously assert, with regard to him, things not really evident; but what every one is aware of are these: whilst still in the bloom of youth he managed to obtain from Aristippus the command of the mercenaries; but whilst still in the bloom of youth he became most intimate with Ariæus, who was a barbarian, because he delighted in beautiful youths; but he himself being beardless, had, as his beloved friend, Tharupus, a bearded man. 29. But when his brother-generals were put to death, because, along with Cyrus, they had joined in the expedition against the king, he, although having done the same acts, was not executed, but, after the death of the other generals, having been punished by the king, he suffered death, not as Clearchus and the other generals, who had their heads cut off, which appeared to be the most expeditious [mode of] death, but, having been tortured alive during a year, like a criminal, he is said to have met with his end.

30. But Azias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achaian,

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these two also perished; but no one either spoke in derision of them as dastards in war, nor censured them as regards friendship. And both of them were about five-and-thirty years of age.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

1. As many things then as in the march upwards with Cyrus the Greeks did until the battle, and as many things as happened when Cyrus was dead, when the Greeks departed with Tissaphernes during the truce, have been made manifest in the preceding narrative. 2. Now, when both the generals had been seized, and of the captains and soldiers, those who accompanied them had perished, the Greeks were in very great perplexity, reflecting indeed that they were close to the residence [*lit.* doors] of the king, while in a circle for them in all directions were both many nations and cities hostile to them, and [that] no one was any longer likely to supply a market, and they were distant from Greece not less than ten thousand stadia, moreover, there was no guide of the route, and impassable rivers cut them off in the midst of their homeward march, and the barbarians that went up with Cyrus had also betrayed them, and they were left alone, having not even a single horse-soldier as an ally; so that it was evident that, conquering, they could slay not even one; but of themselves, [if] defeated, not one man would be left. 3. Deliberating on these things, and being disheartened, few at the evening tasted food, and few kindled [any] fire, and during this night many did not come to their quarters [*lit.* arms], but they lay down to rest wherever each chanced to be, not being able to sleep through grief and a longing regret for native lands, parents, wives and children, whom they thought that they should never see again. Thus then disposed, all went to rest.

4. Now there was in the army one Xenophon, an Athenian, who, being neither a general, nor a captain, nor a soldier, was accompanying it, but Proxenus, being an old friend, had sent for him from home, and promised, moreover, that, if he would come, he would render him a friend to Cyrus, whom he said that he himself considered to be more valuable to himself than his native land. 5. Xenophon, however, having read the letter, consults Socrates the Athenian about the journey. And Socrates, being apprehensive [*lit.* suspecting] that his having been a friend to Cyrus might be some matter of blame to him on the part of the State, since Cyrus seemed to have zealously waged war along with the Lacedæmonians against Athens—advises Xenophon, having gone to Delphi, to consult the god about the journey. 6. But Xenophon, having gone [there], inquired of Apollo, [by] sacrificing and praying to which of the gods he should most honourably and prosperously proceed upon the journey which he is thinking of, and, having succeeded honourably, might return in safety [*lit.* might be saved]. And Apollo told him to what gods he ought to sacrifice. 7. But when he returned he mentioned to Socrates the oracular reply. But he, having heard it, censured him because he did not ask this [question], first, whether it would be more advisable for him to go or to remain; but he himself, having decided that he must go, made this inquiry, how he might proceed most successfully. 'Since, however, you have asked in this manner, it is necessary,' said he, 'to do these things, as many as the god ordered.' 8. Xenophon then, having ordered a sacrifice [causative middle: *Macmichael*] thus [to the deities] to whom the god ordered him [to sacrifice], sailed forth, and overtakes at Sardis Proxenus and Cyrus, now about to start on the upward journey; and he was introduced to Cyrus. 9. And, Proxenus being eagerly desirous, Cyrus also was eagerly desirous that he should stay, and said that, as soon as ever the expedition should be at an end, he would immediately send him back. But the expedition was reported to be against the Pisidians.

10. Accordingly, he joined the expedition, having been thus deceived, [but] not by Proxenus, for he was not aware of the attack upon the king, nor [was] any other of the Greeks, except Clearchus. When, however, they came to Cilicia, it now seemed to be evident to all that the expedition was against the king. But [although] fearing the journey,

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and being unwilling, yet, through respect both for one another and for Cyrus, the majority of them followed with him, of whom Xenophon also was one. 11. But when perplexity arose, he, indeed, along with the others was grieved, and was not able to sleep; but, having obtained slumber for a short time, he beheld a vision. A thunder-storm having come on, a thunderbolt appeared to him to fall on his father's house, and [it seemed that] from this it was all lighted up. 12. And immediately, being greatly terrified, he rose up; and he considered the dream to be partly favourable, because, being in perplexities and dangers, he seemed to behold a great light from Jove; but partly also he was alarmed [because the dream seemed to him to come from Jupiter the King, and the fire seemed to blaze in a circle around him] lest he might not be able to escape from the territory of the king, but might be shut in on all sides by some inextricable difficulties.

13. However, what kind of a thing it is to behold such a vision, it is possible to consider from what occurred after the dream. For these things happened. Immediately when he woke up, at first the idea occurs to him, 'Why do I lie down? for the night advances, and with the dawn it is probable that the enemy will come. But if we shall fall into the power of the king, what preventative is there that we should not die insulted, after beholding the most terrible sufferings [of others], and after having ourselves endured the utmost severities? 14. But no one is making preparation, or is taking care, how we shall defend ourselves; but we lie down as if it were possible to enjoy repose. From what state then am I looking for the general that will accomplish these things? What [maturity of] age do I wait for to come upon myself? Assuredly, I shall never be older, if I this day abandon myself to the enemy.' 15. Upon this he rises up, and summons together first the captains of Proxenus. But when they assembled he said: 'I, O brave captains, am neither able to sleep—just as, I suppose, you are not—nor to lie down any longer, seeing in what perplexities we are [involved]. 16. For it is evident that the enemy have not openly declared war against us before that they considered that they had prepared their own [plans] excellently, while no one of us takes any care in turn how we shall carry on the contest in the best manner possible. 17. And yet what can we suppose that we shall suffer, if we shall yield, and shall fall into the power of the king, who, having cut off the head and the hand of his brother, born both from

the same mother and the same father, and already dead also, has impaled them? But [with regard to] us, for whom there is no guardian at hand—but we marched against him, as intending to make him a slave instead of a king, and intending to slay him if we could—what must we suppose that we shall all suffer? 18. Would he not resort to every expedient, that, having tortured us to the extreme, he may thus excite in all men a dread of ever leading an army against him? But everything must be done by us, in order that we shall not fall into his power. 19. I, indeed, as long as the truce lasted, never ceased commiserating ourselves, and considering as happy the king and those with him, beholding how extensive and what kind of a country they possessed, what abundant supplies, how many servants, how many cattle, and [what] gold and apparel. 20. But when, on the other hand, I reflected on the [affairs] of our soldiers, that we had no share in any of all these good things, except we purchased them, and knew that few possessed the means by which we could buy them, and that our oaths were now preventing us from obtaining supplies, otherwise than [by] purchasing them; considering these, then, I sometimes feared the truce more than I now [fear] the war. 21. Since, however, they have put an end to the truce, their insolence also seems to me to have been put an end to, as well as our suspicion. For now all these good things lie in the midst [of the arena], as prizes for whichever of us may be the better men; and the umpires of the contest are the gods, who will be on our side, as is natural. 22. For, indeed, these have perjured themselves; but we, although beholding many good things, have firmly refrained from them, on account of the oaths to the gods. So that it appears to me that it is permitted to us to advance to the contest with far greater courage than [it is permitted] to them. 23. And, besides, we have bodies more fit than theirs to bear both heat, and cold, and labour, and, with the [assistance of the] gods, we possess more courageous souls; and the enemy will be more exposed to wounds and death than we [are], if the gods, as before, grant us the victory. 24. But—for perhaps others also are reflecting on these things—by the gods, let us not wait for others to come to us, encouraging us to the most glorious deeds, but let us begin by urging others also to [such] valour. Prove yourselves to be the bravest of captains, and more worthy of leading the army than the leaders [themselves]. 25. And I, also, if you choose to make a start for this, am

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willing to follow you ; but if you appoint me to lead, I do not plead my youth as an excuse, but I consider that I am now in full vigour so as to repel misfortunes from myself.

26. He, indeed, uttered these words ; and the captains, having heard these things, all invited [*lit.* ordered] him to lead them. But there was a certain Apollonides, Bœotian in his dialect, and he said, ‘ that this man only talked absurdly, who says that he could gain safety by any other means than by persuading the king, if he could accomplish that [purpose] ;’ and at the same time he began to enumerate the difficulties. 27. However, Xenophon, interrupting him while yet speaking, said thus : ‘ O most wonderful man ! neither seeing, indeed, do you understand, nor hearing, do you remember. And yet you were in the same condition with these men, when the king, after Cyrus had died, having been greatly elated at this event, sending, ordered us to surrender our arms. 28. But when we, not surrendering them, but putting on our armour and advancing, encamped beside him, what things did he not do, sending ambassadors, and soliciting a truce, and supplying provisions until he secured a truce ? 29. But when, on the other hand, the generals and captains, just as you recommend, came to a conference with them, without arms, relying on the truce, are they not now the miserable men, having been beaten, goaded, and insulted, unable even to die, although, I think, greatly longing for this [*i.e.* death] ? Knowing all which things, do you still assert that those exhorting us to defend ourselves are [only] talking nonsense ? And do you urge us to go again, and try to persuade us ? 30. To me, O men, it seems proper both not to admit this fellow to the same position with ourselves, but that, depriving him of his captaincy, and placing baggage upon him, we should use him as a man of that description. For this man disgraces both his native land and all Greece, because, being a Greek, he is such [a degraded character].’ 31. Then Agasias the Stymphalian, having continued [the discourse], said, ‘ But nothing, either of Bœotia or of Greece, at all belongs to this man, since I have perceived him, like a Lydian, having both his ears bored.’ And so it was. 32. Accordingly, they expelled him. But the others, going along the ranks, wherever there was a general surviving, summoned the general, and where he was missing [*lit.* had gone off], the lieutenant-general ; but wherever again a captain was surviving, [they summoned] the captain. 33. So when all were assembled, they sat down

in front of the quarters [*lit.* arms], and both the commanders and the captains that had assembled were about a hundred. But when these things took place it was nearly midnight. 34. Then Hieronymus, an Elæan, being the oldest of the captains of Proxenus, began to speak thus: 'To us, O men, generals and captains, observing present circumstances, it has seemed right both that we ourselves should come together, and that we should summon you, that, if we may be able, we may resolve upon some beneficial plan. But do you also,' said he, 'O Xenophon, state what you stated to us also.'

35. After this Xenophon speaks these things: 'Assuredly we all know these facts, that the king and Tissaphernes have seized of us those whom they could, and it is evident that they are forming designs against the others that they may put us to death, if they can. But, I think, every exertion must be made by us, that we may not fall into the power of the barbarians, but more so, if we can, [that] they [may fall] into our power. 36. Be well assured, then, that ye being as many as have now assembled, occupy a most critical position [*or*, have a most important opportunity]. For all these soldiers look up to you, and if they see you disheartened, all will become cowards; but if you evidently show yourselves as making preparations against the enemy and encourage the others, be well assured that they will follow you, and will strive to imitate you. 37. But, perhaps, it is right also that you should be in some measure superior to them; for ye are generals, and taxiarchs, and captains, and when peace prevailed, you had the advantage over them both in money and in honours; and now, therefore, when there is war, it is necessary that you should think it right that both you yourselves should be better than the multitude, and that for these you should take the lead in council and in toil, if it be at all needful. 38. And now, indeed, in the first place, I think that you would greatly assist the army if you take care that, as soon as possible, generals and captains may be appointed instead of those that have perished. For, without leaders, nothing either honourable or good can be done, so as to speak comprehensively, anywhere, but in warlike affairs, assuredly not at all. For good discipline is acknowledged [*lit.* seems] to preserve, but want of discipline has already destroyed many. 39. But when you shall have appointed the commanders as many as it is expedient, if you would also assemble

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and encourage the other soldiers, I think that you would act in every respect wisely [*lit.* in season].

40. For now, perchance, you too have observed how dejectedly they came to the [place of] arms, and how dejectedly to their posts; so that, matters being in this condition, I know not for what purpose any one could employ them, whether it might be requisite at all by night or by day also. 41. But if any one shall influence their minds so that they shall contemplate not only this, what they shall suffer, but also what they shall do, they will be much more cheerful. 42. For, doubtless, you know that it is neither [superior] numbers nor strength that gains victories in war, but whichever party with the [assistance of the] gods, more courageous in their souls, advance against their enemies, their opponents, usually, do not await their assault [*lit.* them]. 43. For my own part, O men, I have observed this also, that as many as, in warlike affairs, endeavour to save their lives [*lit.* to live] by any means, they, indeed, generally die wretchedly and disgracefully; but as many as are convinced that death is the common and necessary lot for all men, and yet contend about dying honourably, in some way or other, I see these men more frequently [*lit.* the rather] arriving at old age, and, as long as they live, passing their lives more happily. 44. Which things it is right that we now fully understanding—for we are in such a dangerous crisis—should both be brave men ourselves and should exhort the rest.' He then, having spoken these words, left off.

45. Then after him Cheirisophus said: 'Well, formerly, indeed, O Xenophon, I knew you only so far as that I heard you were an Athenian, but now I both commend you for the things which you both assert and perform, and I would wish that as many men as possible should be such as [you are], for this would be a universal [*lit.* common] advantage. 46. And now,' said he, 'let us not delay, but, going away, do ye that need them at once select your generals, and having selected them, come into the midst of the encampment and bring those that have been selected: then we will call together there the other soldiers; and,' said he, 'let also Tolmides, the herald, attend us.' 47. And at the same time, having spoken these words, he stood up, in order that the necessary proceedings might not be delayed, but might be accomplished. After this there were selected as generals: instead of Clearchus, Timasion the Dardanian; and instead of Socrates,

Xanthicles the Achæan; and instead of Agias the Arcadian, Cleanor of Orchomenus; and instead of Menon, Philesius the Achæan; and instead of Proxenus, Xenophon the Athenian.

CHAPTER II

1. But day was nearly dawning when they were selected and the leaders came into the midst, and it seemed advisable to them, having stationed advanced guards, to call together the soldiers. But when the rest of the soldiers also had assembled, firstly, Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian rose up and spoke to this effect; 2. 'O brave soldiers, our present circumstances are indeed disastrous, since we have been deprived of such brave [*lit.* men] generals, and captains, and soldiers; and moreover, also, Ariæus and his followers, previously our allies, have betrayed us. 3. But, nevertheless, it is necessary both that you should come forth as valiant men out of the present dangers, and not submit: but rather try how, if indeed we are able, nobly victorious, we may rescue ourselves; but if not, that we may, at least, perish nobly, and may never while living fall into the hands of the enemy. For I think that we would [then] suffer such [tortures] as may the gods inflict upon our enemies.'

4. Next after him, Cleanor the Orchomenian rose up and spoke thus: 'Indeed, O fellow-soldiers, you see the perjury and profanity of the king, and you see the treachery of Tissaphernes, who, professing that he would be a neighbour to Greece, and would deem it the highest privilege to save us, and himself having sworn to us on these conditions—he himself having pledged his right hand—that very same man, deceiving us, has seized upon our generals, and did not revere even Japiter, the protector of guests; but being even a participator of the same table with Clearchus, having deluded them by these very [professions], has destroyed these men. 5. But Ariæus, whom we wished to appoint as king, [to whom] we gave, and [from whom] we received, pledges of faith, that we would not betray one another, he also, neither fearing the gods nor revering Cyrus when dead, although particularly honoured by Cyrus while living, now deserting to his most deadly enemies, endeavours to destroy us, the friends of

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Cyrus. May the gods, indeed, punish these men! But it is necessary that we, seeing these things, should never again be deceived by those men, but that, fighting as bravely as we can, we may endure whatever may seem right to the gods.'

7. After this, Xenophon rises up, accoutred for war as splendidly as he could [be], thinking both that if the gods would give him victory, that the most splendid equipment was becoming for victory, or if it would be necessary for him to die, that it was right that, having thought himself worthy of the most splendid equipments, in these he should meet his end; but he commenced his speech thus:

8. 'Cleanor indeed mentions both the false swearing and the breach of faith on the part of the barbarians, and you, I think, also know it. If, therefore, we determine to be again on friendly terms with them [*lit.* to go on in the way of friendship], it is necessary for us to feel much disheartened, seeing also our generals, who, through confidence, trusted themselves into their hands, what they have suffered. If, however, we purpose, by force of arms, to inflict vengeance on them for what they have done, and for the remaining time to go through every act of war against them, with the assistance of the gods, there are for us many and excellent hopes of safety.' 9. Now, as he was saying this, some one sneezes, but the soldiers, having heard it, all with one accord worshipped the god; and Xenophon said, 'It seems advisable to me, O soldiers, since, while we were speaking concerning safety, an omen from Jupiter the Preserver has appeared, to vow that we will offer a thanksgiving sacrifice for safety, wherever first we may arrive at a friendly country, and that we should at the same vow to sacrifice to the other gods according as we are able. And, to whomsoever these things seem advisable,' said he, 'let him hold up his hand.' And all held up their hands. After this they made vows, and sang a pæan. And when the ceremonies of the gods were duly performed, he began again thus: 10. 'I happened to be saying, that there were for us many and excellent hopes of safety. For, in the first place, we firmly observe our oaths to the gods, but our enemies have both perjured themselves, and have broken the truce and their oaths. Matters being thus, it is natural that there should be opposed to our enemies and as allies to us, the gods, who are able to speedily render the mighty humble, and even though they may be in dangers, to easily save the humble, whenever they please. 11. But, next; for I will remind you of the dangers

of our ancestors also, that you may know [how] it is both incumbent on you to be brave, and [how] the brave, with the aid of the gods, are saved even out of the most desperate dangers. For, when the Persians and their allies [*lit.* those with them] came with a numerous host, as if about to annihilate Athens, the Athenians, having dared to resist them, conquered them. 12. And, having vowed to Diana, that as many as ever of the enemy they might slay, so many goats would they sacrifice to the goddess, when they were not able to find a sufficient number, it seemed good to them to sacrifice five hundred yearly, and still they even now [continue to] sacrifice them to pay off their vow [*ἀπο—Macmichael*].

13. 'Again, when Xerxes afterwards, having collected his countless armament, came against Greece, then also our ancestors conquered the ancestors of these men both by land and by sea. As proofs of which deeds it is possible to see the trophies, but the strongest evidence is the freedom of those cities in which you were born and reared; for you pay homage to no man as your master, but to the gods alone. From such ancestors are ye descended. 14. And, indeed, I will not say this, that you disgrace them; for not many days have yet elapsed since, drawn up against these men, the descendants of those [former Persians], with the assistance of the gods, you defeated men many times more numerous than yourselves. 15. And then, indeed, ye were valiant men with regard to the dominion of Cyrus; but now, when the contest is for your own preservation, it surely becomes you to be both more valiant and more zealous. 16. And, indeed, it becomes you now to be more courageous against the enemy. For then, indeed, having no experience of them, and seeing their countless multitudes, nevertheless, with the spirit of your fathers, you dared to advance against them; but now, when you already possess experience with regard to them, that, although being many times more numerous than yourselves, they do not wish to await your onset, how can it become you any longer to fear them? 17. Do not, however, imagine that you have a disadvantage in this [*lit.* that you have the worse in this], if soldiers of Cyrus formerly marshalled along with us have now deserted us; for these are even still more dastardly than those who were defeated by us; for, at all events, forsaking us, they fled to them. Now, it is far better to see men inclined to commence a flight, drawn up along with the enemy, rather than in your ranks.

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18. 'But if, besides, any one among you is despondent, because we have no horse-soldiers, while many are present to the enemy, reflect that those ten thousand horse-soldiers are nothing else than ten thousand men, for no one has ever yet died [from] being bitten or kicked by a horse in combat; but the men are those who accomplish whatever is done in battles.

19. 'Are we not, therefore, upon a much safer support than the horsemen? For they hang upon horses, fearing not only us, but also the falling-off; while we, firmly standing upon the earth, will strike much more vigorously if any one may attack us, and we shall far more easily hit the mark we aim at [*lit.* wish]. And in one respect only horsemen excel us; it is safer for them to fly than [it is] for us. 20. But if, indeed, you are of good courage with regard to battles, but are disheartened with regard to this, that Tissaphernes will no longer guide us, nor will the king supply a market, consider whether it is better to have as a guide Tissaphernes, who is evidently plotting against us, or whatever men we, having fixed on, may order to guide us; who shall know that if they commit any error with regard to us, they will commit an error with regard to their own lives and persons. 21. And whether is it better to purchase provisions from the market which they afforded, small measures for much money—and we too no longer having even this [money]—or ourselves to take them, if we conquer, making use of whatever measure each man may wish.

22. 'But, however, if you know these things, that thus matters would be better, but consider that the rivers are an insuperable difficulty, and think that you were greatly deceived in having crossed them, consider whether, after all, the barbarians have not done this most foolishly. For all rivers, if even afar from their sources they are impassable, become fordable to those advancing to their sources, wetting not even the knee. 23. But if neither the rivers shall vary [in depth], and no one shall appear as a guide, not even under those circumstances [*lit.* thus], ought we to become desponding. For we know of Mysians, whom we should not pronounce to be more valiant than ourselves, who, against the will of the king, in the country of the king, dwell in cities both numerous, and flourishing, and great; and we know the same of the Pisidians; but we ourselves have seen the Lycaonians, how that, having taken possession of the fortified places in the plains, they reap the fruits of his country. 24. Now, I, for

my part, should assert that we ought not to have let it be seen as yet that we have started homewards, but to get ready as if about to establish a new settlement somewhere about this spot.

'For I know that, even to the Mysians, the king would give many guides and many hostages also, to send them away without treachery; yes, he would convey them on their journey, even if they wished to depart in four-horsed chariots. And for us, indeed, I know that thrice gladly he would do this, if he saw us making preparations to remain. 25. But, however, I am afraid lest, if we should once learn to live indolently, and to pass our lives amid abundance, and to associate with the lovely and splendid women and virgins both of the Medes and Persians, like the lotus-eaters, we should forget our homeward march. 26. It seems to me, therefore, to be both natural and just, in the first place, to endeavour to come to Greece, and to our relatives, and to make it plain to the Greeks that they voluntarily suffer privation, whilst it is possible for them, conveying hither those who at home in poverty hold the rank of citizens, to behold them enriched. For, truly, O men, it is evident that all these advantages belong to the victors. 27. But it is necessary to mention this, how we should both march as safely as possible, and if it be necessary to fight, [how] we should fight to the best advantage. First, then, it seems proper to me,' said he, 'to burn the wagons which we have, in order that our cattle may not embarrass our line of march [*lit.* lead the army], but that we may go wherever it may be beneficial for the army; and secondly, that we should also burn our tents. For these, again, cause us trouble in carrying, and will benefit us in no respect, either as regards fighting or procuring supplies.

28. 'Moreover, let us also get rid of all our superfluous baggage, except what we have on account of war, or food, or drink, that as many of us as possible may be in arms, and as few as possible may be baggage-carriers. For you are aware that all the effects of the conquered are taken from them; but if we are the conquerors, we may regard our enemies also as our baggage-carriers. 29. It remains that I should state what I consider to be the most important point. For you see that the enemy did not dare to openly make war against us, until they had seized our generals, thinking, whilst there were commanders and whilst we were obedient, that we should be able to be superior to them in war; but having seized our leaders, they thought that we should be destroyed by anarchy and want of

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discipline. 30. It is necessary, then, that our present leaders should be much more cautious than the former ones, and that the men commanded [by them] should now be far more orderly and obedient to their officers now than before. 31. But should any one disobey—if you shall pass a resolution that such of you as happen to meet him, in conjunction with his commander, shall punish him, thus the enemy will have been most of all disappointed; for on that day they would behold, instead of one, ten thousand Clearchuses, who will not allow any one to be disobedient [*or*, a coward]. 32. But, indeed, it is now time to finish my speech, for, perhaps, the enemy will be present here immediately. To whomsoever, therefore, these suggestions appear to be advantageous, let him sanction them as speedily as possible, that they may be accomplished by being put into execution, but if any one know a better course than to act in this way, let even a private soldier have the boldness [*lit.* dare] to instruct us, for we all require common security.

33. After these matters Cheirisophus said: 'Now, indeed, if there be need of any other proposal in addition to those which Xenophon has stated, it will be possible for us to put these into execution immediately, but, with regard to what he has now spoken, it appears to me to be the best to vote as speedily as possible; and to whomsoever these proposals appear right, let him hold up his hand.' All held up their hands.

34. But Xenophon, having stood up again, said: 'Comrades, listen to those contingencies which it seems right to me to expect. It is evident that we must march where we shall have provisions. Now I hear that there are flourishing [*lit.* beautiful] villages, distant not more than twenty stadia. 35. Therefore, we should not wonder if the enemy—just as cowardly dogs both pursue those that pass by and bite them, if they can, but fly from those pursuing—if, I say, these very enemies should pursue us when departing. 36. Perhaps, therefore, it is more safe for us to march, having formed a hollow square of the heavy-armed soldiers, in order that the baggage-animals and the numerous rabble [*i.e.* the camp-followers] may be in greater security. If, therefore, it were now declared who ought to lead the square and to arrange the van, and who ought to be over either wing, and who ought to guard the rear whenever the enemy approach, there would be no need that we should be deliberating, but we could at once make use of our troops already marshalled. 37. If, then,

any other person sees any better plan, let it be otherwise; but, if not, let Cheirisophus lead [the van], since he also is a Lacedæmonian, and let two of the senior [officers], as generals, take charge of each of the wings; and let us, the junior [officers], both myself and Timasion, for the present, guard the rear. 38. But, for the future, while trying this arrangement, from time to time [*lit.* always] we will decide what may seem best to be done. But if any one perceive any better plan let him state it.' But, when no one spoke against it, he said: 'To whomsoever these plans appeared advisable, let him hold up his hand.' These plans appeared good to them. 39. 'Wherefore now,' said he, 'it is our business to go and fulfil what has been decided on; and whoever of you is anxious to see his relatives, let him bear in mind that he must be a valiant man, for it is not permitted him attain this object by any other means; and whoever is anxious to live, let him endeavour to conquer, for it belongs to conquerors to slay, but it is [the lot] of the vanquished to die. And if any one also desires wealth, let him endeavour to conquer, for it is [the right] of victors both to secure their own property and to seize on that of the vanquished.'

CHAPTER III.

1. THESE things having been said, they stood up, and, having gone away, they began to burn both the wagons and the tents; and, of the superabundant things, whatever any one needed they shared with one another, and they cast all the rest into the fire. Having performed these matters they breakfasted. But while they were having breakfast, Mithridates comes with about thirty horsemen, and, having summoned the generals within hearing, he speaks thus: 2. 'I, O Grecian warriors, was both faithful to Cyrus, as you know, and I am now friendly to you, and I am living here in great uneasiness [*lit.* fear]. If, therefore, I saw you contriving some safe plan [*or*, means of safety] I would come to you, having also all my followers. Tell then,' said he, 'to me what you have in view, as both to a friend and a

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well-wisher and one willing to make this march in common along with you.' 3. It seemed right to the generals [after] having consulted together, to give this reply, and Chersiphon spoke it: 'It is determined by us, if, indeed, any one permits us to march homewards, to proceed through the country doing as little injury as we can, but if any one should obstruct our march, to fight it out with him as vigorously as we can.' 4. After this Mithridates attempted to point out how impracticable it was for them to be saved, the king being unwilling. Then indeed it became known that he had been treacherously sent, for one of Tissaphernes' friends also followed him to secure [*lit.* for the sake of] his fidelity. 5. And after this it appeared to the generals to be more advisable to pass a resolution that the war should be conducted without heralds as long as they were in the enemy's country, for, coming up, they began to bribe the soldiers, and they had already bribed at least one captain, Nicarchus, an Arcadian, and he went off, departing by night with about twenty men. 6. After this, having finished their breakfast, and having passed over the river Zabatus, they marched, marshalled in battle array, having the baggage-animals and the camp-followers [*lit.* crowd] in the centre. And when they had not gone forward far, Mithridates again appears, having about two hundred horsemen, and bowmen, and slingers, to the number of] four hundred, very lightly armed and active, and he was coming up close to the Greeks, as if he were a friend. 7. But when they came near, suddenly some of them, both horsemen and infantry, let fly arrows, and others used their slings and wounded [our men]. But the rear-guard of the Greeks suffered severely, but inflicted no injury in return, for both the Cretans shot to a less distance than the Persians, and at the same time, being lightly-armed, had retired behind the heavy-armed men; and the javelin-men also hurled their javelins too short a distance to reach the slingers. 8. Upon this it seemed good to Xenophon that there should be a pursuit. And those of the heavy-armed and of the targeteers that along with him happened to be guarding the rear, gave chase, but, when pursuing, they overtook none of the enemies. 9. For the Greeks had no cavalry, nor were the infantry able, within a short space, to overtake the Persian infantry, which began to fly at a long distance, for it was impossible to pursue them far away from the remainder of the army. 10. But the barbarian cavalry, even when in flight, at the same time

wounded [our men], aiming behind from their horses; and as far as the Greeks gained on them in pursuit, so far was it necessary again to retreat fighting. 11. So that during the whole day they proceeded not more than five and twenty stadia, but in the [course of the] afternoon they reached the villages. There then again despondency arose. And Cheirisophus and the eldest of the commanders censured Xenophon, because he had pursued far from the phalanx, and had both endangered himself and was not the more able to injure the enemy.

12. But Xenophon, hearing them, said, 'That they justly censured him, and that the result bore them testimony. But,' said he, 'I was obliged to pursue, when I saw that we ourselves were suffering severely [by] staying [at our posts], and that we were able to effect nothing in return. 13. But, since we pursued,' said he, 'you speak truly, for we were in no degree more able to injure the enemy, and we withdrew with much difficulty. 14. Thanks to the gods, then, that they did not come with their full strength, but [only] with a few, so that they did not injure us greatly, but have shown us what we require.' 15. 'For now indeed the enemies shoot their arrows and slings from a distance so great that the Cretans are unable to shoot against them, nor can the hurlers from the hand reach them. And when we pursue them, it is not feasible to pursue a long distance from the army; and, in a short space, not even though he be very swift, could a foot-soldier overtake a foot-soldier starting at the distance of a bow-shot. 16. If, then, we purpose to repel these, so that they may be unable to injure us while marching, there is immediate need both of slingers and of horse-soldiers. But I hear that there are in the army Rhodians, the greater part of whom understand the way to sling, and their missile carries twice the distance of the Persian slings. 17. For the latter, through slinging with large stones, reach to a short distance, but the Rhodians understand the way to make use of leaden bullets also. 18. If, therefore, we ascertain which of them have slings, and to each one of these give money for them, and pay other money to the person willing to plait [or, twist others, and find some other immunity [or, exemption instead of pay] for the man willing to sling in the place assigned to him, perhaps some who are able to serve us will present themselves [*lit.* may appear]. 19. And I see also that there are horses in the army, some of them with me, and others left behind by Clearchus, and several other horses taken from

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the enemy conveying the baggage. If then, when we have selected all these, we give in exchange for them beasts of burden, and equip the horses for horse-soldiers, perhaps, even these may, to some extent, injure the retreating enemy.' 20. These plans seemed good; and on that same night slingers were collected to [the number of] two hundred, and, on the following day, horses and horsemen, about fifty in number, were declared serviceable, and horsemen's cloaks and breast-plates were provided for them; and Lycius, son of Polystratus, an Athenian, was appointed as commander of the cavalry.

CHAPTER IV.

1. AND having halted for this day, on the following one they marched forward, having risen earlier, for it was necessary that they should cross a ravine, at which they feared lest the enemy might attack them when crossing. 2. But when they had crossed it, Mithridates appears to them again, having a thousand horsemen, and archers, and slingers amounting to four thousand; for he had asked Tissaphernes for so many, and had received them, having promised, if he received these, to hand over the Greeks to him, dispersing them; because that in his previous onslaught, having only a few soldiers, he had suffered no loss, and considered that he had inflicted much injury.

3. And when the Greeks, having passed over, were about eight stadia distant from the ravine, Mithridates also passed over, having his troops [*lit.* the force]. Now orders had been given both [to those] of the targeteers and of the heavy-armed men, whom it behoved to pursue, and it had been enjoined on the cavalry to pursue boldly, since a sufficient force would follow close after them. 4. But when Mithridates had overtaken them, and [the missiles from] the slings and the arrows were reaching them, [the trumpeter] gave the signal to the Greeks with his trumpet, and immediately those to whom directions had been given rushed on together, and the horsemen charged, and the enemy did not await the onset, but fled

to the ravine. 5. And in this pursuit, on the barbarians' side, both many of their infantry were slain, and of their cavalry about eighteen were taken prisoners [*lit.* alive] in the ravine; but the Greeks of their own accord mutilated the dead, in order that it might be as fearful as possible for the enemy to look upon.

6. And the enemy, having sustained this loss, went away; but the Greeks, marching safely during the remainder of that day, came to the river Tigris. 7. There was a deserted city of large extent, and its name was Larissa; but, in ancient times, the Medes inhabited it: the breadth of its wall was five-and-twenty feet, and the height one hundred, and the circumference of the circle two parasangs, and it was built with bricks made of clay, but there was underneath a foundation of stone, in height twenty feet. 8. The king of the Persians besieging this [city], when the Persians took the empire from the Medes was by no means able to take it; but the sun, drawing a cloud over his disc [*or*, the city], remained obscure; [*or*, but a cloud having covered the sun, hid it from view], until the men deserted the city, and thus it was captured. 9. Near this city was a pyramid of stone; its width was one hundred feet, but its height two hundred feet. Upon this there were many of the barbarians, who had fled from the adjacent villages.

10. Thence they advanced one day's journey, ~~six~~ parasangs, to a deserted fortress of large extent, situated near a city, but the name of the city was Mespila; and Medes formerly inhabited it. But the foundation was of polished stone, full of shells [*or*, petrifications], fifty feet in breadth, and fifty [feet] in height. 11. And upon this had been built a brick wall, in breadth fifty feet, and in height one hundred; and the circuit of the enclosure was six parasangs. To this place Media, a wife of the king, is said to have retreated for refuge, when the Medes were losing the empire by means of the Persians. 12. But the king of the Persians, investing this city, was not able to capture it either by starvation [*lit.* time] or by assault; but Zeus struck the inhabitants with a sudden panic [*lit.* makes them thunderstruck], and thus it was captured.

13. Thence they proceeded one day's march, four parasangs. But on this day's march, Tissaphernes appeared, having the cavalry which he himself led [*lit.* came having], and also the force of Orontes, who had married the daughter of the king, and those barbarian troops with which [*lit.* having which] Cyrus had marched up, and those with which the brother of

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the king brought aid to the king; and, besides these, as many soldiers as the king had given to him, so that his army seemed [to be] very numerous. 14. But when he came near, stationing some of his companies in the rear, he retained them there, but leading others against the flanks, he did not venture to make a charge, nor did he wish to risk the danger; but he ordered them to sling and to let fly their arrows. 15. But when the Rhodians, dispersed amongst the ranks, slung, and the Scythian bowmen discharged their arrows, and no one missed his man (for, even if he earnestly wished to do so, it was not easy), both Tissaphernes very speedily began to retire out of the reach of the missiles, and the other troops also retired. 16. And during the remainder of that day the one party marched forward, while the other followed; and the barbarians no longer injured them by skirmishing, for the Rhodians slung to a greater distance than the Persians, and [even] than most bowmen. 17. Now the Persian bows are large, so that as many of their arrows as were taken, were useful to the Cretans; and they continued to use the arrows of the enemies, and [by] discharging them upwards, they practised to shoot to a long distance. And numerous bow-strings also were found in the villages, and lead, so that they used them for the slings.

18. And on that day, when the Greeks were encamping, having met with some villages, the barbarians departed, having the worst of it in that skirmish; but the Greeks remained there the next day and procured supplies, for there was much corn in the villages. But on the next day, they proceeded through the plain, and Tissaphernes followed, skirmishing. 19. Then indeed the Greeks discovered that an equal-sided rectangle [*i.e.* a square] was a bad disposition when enemies were following. For it must necessarily happen, if the extremities of the parallelogram should bend towards each other, either the road being rather narrow, or a hill, or a bridge compelling them [to do so], that the heavy-armed men must be forced out of the ranks and must march in bad order, being at the same time crowded together, and also brought into disorder. 20. But when, on the other hand, the wings should separate, there was a necessity that the troops, previously forced out, should now be too much separated, and that 'the space between the flanks should become empty' [*Macmichael and Hutchinson*; or, that the centre should become destitute of the wings], and that the troops

labouring under these [disadvantages] should become discouraged when the enemy were following. And whenever it might be necessary to pass over a bridge, or any other crossing-place, each man made haste, wishing to be the first over, and there was a good opportunity of attack for the enemy.

21. But when the generals discovered this they formed six divisions of a hundred men each, and placed captains over them, and others as commanders of fifty, and others as commanders of twenty-five. But these captains, marching on whenever the flanks were drawn in towards each other, remained in the rear, so as not to crowd the flanks, and afterwards they brought on their own men outside the wings.

22. And whenever the sides of the square opened, they filled up the interval, if indeed the vacant space was rather narrow, by companies, and if broader, by fifties; but if very broad, by the twenty-fives, so that the centre was always full. 23. But if it were necessary to pass over any ford [*lit.* place of crossing or bridge, they were not thrown into confusion, but the captains passed over in their turn, and if anything were wanted at any point of the army [*τῆς φάλαγγος*, depending on *του*, *Macmichael* and *Krüger*; or, if anywhere there was necessity for having the phalanx], these were ready at hand. In this manner they proceeded for four days' march.

24. But when they were advancing on the fifth day's march, they saw a kind of palace, and many villages around it, and the way to this place lying among high hills, which reached down from the mountain, under which there was a village; and the Greeks indeed gladly saw the hills, as was natural, the enemy being cavalry. 25. But when, proceeding from the plain, they had gone up to the [summit of the] first hill, and were descending so that they might go up to the next, then the barbarians came up with them, and from the high ground they hurled missiles down the steep slope, and slung, and discharged arrows, [being compelled to do so] by lashes. 26. And they wounded several, and overcame the light-armed Greeks, and shut them up within the heavy-armed, so that during this day both the slingers and the archers were entirely useless, being mixed with the crowd. 27. And when the Greeks, being hard-pressed, attempted to pursue, they arrive at the summit slowly, as being heavy-armed, while the enemy quickly sprang up [the steep ascent].

28. And again, whenever they would go back to the remainder of the army, they experienced the same things, and on

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the second hill the same things occurred, so that it was resolved upon by them not to advance the soldiers from the third hill, until they had marched up to the mountain targeteers from the right side of the square. 29. And when these men got above the enemy who were following, the enemy no longer rushed against them when coming down, fearing lest they might be cut off, and lest the enemy should be on both sides of them. 30. And marching thus for the remainder of the day, some by the route along the hills, and others advancing abreast of them along the mountains, they arrived at the villages, and appointed eight surgeons, for the wounded were numerous.

31. There they remained three days, both on account of the wounded, and [because] at the same time they obtained abundant supplies, wheaten flour, wine, and much barley, that had been got together for the horses. But these [supplies] had been collected for the satrap of the district. But on the fourth day they descend into the plain. 32. But when Tissaphernes, along with his force, had overtook them, necessity instructed them to encamp where first they saw a village, and not to march on any longer fighting, for many were disabled, both the ones wounded, and the ones carrying them, and the ones who had taken the arms of the men carrying them. 33. But when they had encamped, and the barbarians, coming up to the village, endeavoured to skirmish with them, the Greeks were much superior. For the fact of sallying forth from their quarters and repulsing the enemy, was very different from fighting, when on the march, with the enemy attacking them. 34. And when it was now evening, it was time for the enemy to go away; for the barbarians used to encamp never less than sixty stadia from the Grecian army, fearing lest the Greeks should attack them by night. 35. For a Persian army is at a disadvantage at night. For their horses are tethered, and are, for the most part, tied up by the feet, for the sake of their not running away, [as they would] if they were let loose; and if any alarm should arise, it is necessary for the Persian soldier to saddle his horse, and it is necessary to bridle him, and that having put on his armour he should mount his horse. But all these things are troublesome to perform at night, and when an alarm occurs. On account of this, they used to encamp at a distance from the Greeks.

36. But when the Greeks saw that they wished to go

away, and were passing the order through the ranks, [the herald] proclaimed to the Greeks, within hearing of the enemy, to collect their baggage. And for a considerable time, the barbarians desisted from their departure, but when it was becoming late, they went away; for it did not appear advantageous to them to march by night, and [merely] to reach their encampment. 37. But when the Greeks saw that they had now evidently departed, they also, packing up, set out, and passed over as much as sixty stadia, and so great a distance becomes placed between the armies, that the enemy did not appear on the next day, nor on the third day; but on the fourth day, the barbarians having advanced by night, seize a post on the right [of the Greeks], where the Greeks intended to pass, the ridge of a mountain, below which was the descent into the plain. 38. But when Cheirisophus saw the mountain ridge previously occupied, he summons Xenophon from the rear, and orders him, having taken the targeteers, to advance to the front. 39. But Xenophon did not bring the targeteers, for he saw Tissaphernes coming in sight, and all his army, but he himself, having ridden up to him, inquired: 'Why do you summon me?' And he [*i.e.* Cheirisophus], says to him, 'You may see, for the mountain crest above the descent has been previously occupied against us, and it is impossible to pass by, unless we shall cut off those [enemies]. 40. But why did you not bring the targeteers?' But he replies: 'That it did not seem to him judicious, to leave the rear unguarded, when the enemy were in sight [*lit.* appeared]. But indeed,' said he, 'it is high time to consider how one may dislodge these men from the hill.' 41. Thereupon Xenophon observes that the summit of the mountain was just above their own army, and that from this there was a pass to the crest where the enemy were; and he exclaims: 'O Cheirisophus! it would be best for us to advance as quickly as possible to the summit, for, if we seize that, [the enemy] who are now above our road will not be able to remain. But if you please, stay with the army, for I wish to go [thither], but if you prefer it, march up the mountain, and I will remain here.' 42. 'Well, I grant to you,' said Cheirisophus, 'to choose whichever you please.' Xenophon, remarking that he is the younger, prefers to proceed, and he asks Cheirisophus to send with him some men from the front, for it was too long a distance to take them from the rear. 43. And Cheirisophus sends along with him

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the targeteers from the front, but he selected those in the centre of the square. But Cheirisophus ordered also to accompany him the three hundred whom he himself had, of the picked men [of the army], in front of the square.

44. Thence they advanced as quickly as they were able. But the enemy on the crest, when they observed their march to the summit, instantly themselves also rushed forward to contend for [the possession of] the summit. 45. And then there was much shouting of the Grecian army, cheering on their own men; and much shouting of those with Tissaphernes, cheering on their own men. 46. But Xenophon, on his horse, riding along beside them, encouraged them [thus]: 'O men! think that you are now contending for Greece, and now for your children and for your wives, and that now, having struggled hard for a brief period, we shall march for the remainder of the way without fighting.' 47. But Soterides the Sicyonian said, 'We are not on an equality, O Xenophon! for you are carried on a horse, and I am labouring on with difficulty carrying this shield.' 48. And he having heard these remarks, and having leaped down from his horse, pushes him out of the rank, and having taken his shield from him, he marched on as quickly as he could; but he happened to have on him a cavalry breastplate, so that he was oppressed. And he exhorted those in front to advance gradually, and those in the rear, who were following with difficulty, to come forward. 49. But the other soldiers strike, and pelt, and revile Soterides, until they compelled him, having taken up his shield, to advance. But Xenophon, mounting, as long as the [ground] was passable, led the way on horseback: but when it was impassable, leaving his horse, he hastened on on foot. And they anticipate the enemy [in] arriving at the summit.

CHAPTER V.

1. THEN, in truth, the barbarians, having wheeled round, fled by whatever way each one could, but the Greeks occupied the top of the hill. But the troops around Tissaphernes and Ariæus, retreating, went off by another road; but those under Cheirisophus, having gone down into the plain, encamped in a

village full of many valuable things. And there were also numerous other villages, full of many valuable things, in this plain, along the river Tigris. 2. And when it was evening the enemy suddenly show themselves in the plain, and they cut to pieces some of the Greeks who were spread about the plain for plunder, for also many herds of cattle, whilst being carried over to the opposite side of the river, had been seized.

3. Then Tissaphernes and those with him endeavoured to set fire to the villages. And some of the Greeks were in great despondency, thinking that, if they burned them, they should have no place from which they might obtain supplies. And Cheirisophus and his troops came back from giving aid. 4. But Xenophon, when he came down, riding along the ranks, when the Greeks [returning] from the rescue [of the Greek stragglers] met him, said: 5. 'O men of Greece! you see them acknowledging that the country is already ours, for [with regard to] what they agreed on when they concluded the truce, that we should not burn the country of the king, they themselves are now burning it as if belonging to others. But if they anywhere leave provisions for themselves, they shall see us too proceeding thither. 6. But, O Cheirisophus!' said he, 'it seems good to me to give aid against those who are burning, as if in defence of our own land.' But Cheirisophus replied, 'It does not seem good to me; but let us also burn it, and thus they will cease the sooner.'

7. And when they went away to their quarters [in the village, *lit.* tents], the others were employed about supplies, but the generals and captains came together. And then there was much perplexity. For on one side were very lofty mountains, and on the other the river, of such great depth that for those trying the depth not even their spears were above [water]. To them, while thus in doubt, a certain Rhodian, coming up, says, 'O men! I am willing to convey you over by four thousand heavy-armed soldiers at a time, if you will furnish me with what I want and give me a talent as a remuneration.' 9. And being asked what he required: 'I shall want,' said he, 'two thousand hides; and I see these numerous sheep, and goats, and oxen, and asses, which, having been skinned and inflated, would easily supply the means of crossing. 10. And I shall want also the bands which you use for the baggage cattle. And by means of these,' said he, 'having fastened the hides to each other, having moored each bladder by attaching stones and dropping them like anchors into the

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water, having extended them across [the river], and having fastened them on each side [of the bank], I will throw wood over them and strew earth above it. 11. That, in truth, you will not sink you will at once perceive: for each skin-bag will hold up two men so that they do not sink, but the wood and the earth will prevent them from slipping off.'

12. To the generals hearing these things the contrivance appeared to be ingenious, but its execution impossible, for there were many horse-soldiers on the other side to prevent it, who would have instantly not permitted the foremost men to do any of these things. 13. Then during the next day they turned back, [but] in a direction different from that towards Babylon, to some unburned villages, having burned those from which they set out, so that the enemy did not ride up to them, but looked on, and were like as if they wondered which way the Greeks would turn and what they now had in minds. 14. Then the other soldiers were employed about supplies, but the generals and the captains again came together, and bringing together the captured men, they questioned them with regard to the whole country around [*lit.* in a circuit] what each might be. 15. And they stated that the parts towards the south belonged to the [road] to Babylon and Media, by which they had come; and the road towards the east would lead to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king is said to spend the summer and to spend the spring; but to one having crossed the river, the road towards the west would lead to Lydia and Ionia, and that the road through the mountains and turned towards the north would lead to the Carduchians. 16. But they said that these dwelt among the mountains, and were warlike, and did not obey the king; but that even, on one occasion, a royal army [consisting of] twelve myriads made an incursion against them, and that of these not one returned ~~an~~ account of the impractical nature of the ground; that when, however, they made a truce with the satrap [governing] in the plain, they even mixed amongst one another, [some] of them [*i.e.* the Carduchi] with those [*i.e.* the Persians of the plain], and [some] of those with them.

17. But the generals having heard these things, placed separately those saying that they knew [the road] in each direction, having made nothing manifest [as to] whither they intended to go. But it appeared to the generals to be necessary to strike across the mountains, among the Carduchi, for [the captives] said that [the Greeks], when they had passed

through these, would come into Armenia, which Orontas governed, an extensive and wealthy country. And thence they said that it was easy to travel in whatever direction any one might wish to proceed. 18. With reference to these movements they sacrificed, in order that, at whatever hour it might seem good, they might commence their march : for they were apprehensive with regard to the passage of the mountains, lest it should be previously occupied ; and they issued orders that when they had supped, all, having packed up, should take repose, and follow whenever any one should give the word of command.

END OF BOOK III.

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From THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON. Book I. Chapter I.
1. Of Darius and Parysatis are born two sons; the elder, indeed, Artaxerxes, but the younger Cyrus. But when Darius was becoming infirm and suspected the end of his life, he wished that both 2 to 8

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I have reared a monument more enduring than brass, and loftier than
Exegi monumentum perennius æræ, altiusque
the regal structure of the Pyramids, which neither the corroding
regali situ Pyramidum quod non edax
shower, nor the tempestuous north wind, or the countless succession
imber, non impotens Aquilo, aut innumerabilis serica
of years and the flight of seasons shall be able to destroy. 9
annorum et fuga temporum possit diruere.

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Cano I sing arma arms virunque and the man *qui* who *primus* first, *profugus* a wanderer *fato* by fate *venit* came *ab oris* from the shores *Trojae* of Troy *Italiam* to Italy *Laviniae littora* and the Lavinian shores: *ille* he *multum jactatus* (was) much tossed about *et* both *terris* on the land *et alto* on the deep *vi* by the power 10 & 11
superum of the (Gods) above, *ob tram memorem* on account of the lasting anger *save Junonis* of cruel Juno.

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Te quoque, magna Pales, et te pastor ab Amphryso memo- 12 to 14
Thee too, mighty Pales, and thee, shepherd from Amphrysus worth-

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Chapter I.

1. Of Darius and Parysatis are born two sons; the elder, indeed, Artaxerxes, but the younger Cyrus. But when Darius was becoming infirm and suspected the end of his life, he wished that both his sons should be present with him.

From THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL. Book I.

1. I sing arms, and the man who, exiled by Fate from Troy's shores, first came to Italy and the Lavinian coast. Long was he driven over land and sea, by the influence of heaven, for cruel Juno's unforgiving wrath. Sorely in war, too, was he afflicted, while founding a city, and establishing his gods in Latium, whence came the Latin people, the Alban elders, and the walls of imperial Rome. Recount for me, my Muse, the causes: what deity outraged; or, how aggrieved, the Queen of Heaven doomed a hero, eminent for tenderness, to encounter so many adventures, to undergo so many hardships. Lives there such anger in immortal spirits!

From LIVY. Book I.

1. Now, first of all, it is a sufficiently established fact [*satis constat. lit. it is sufficiently evident,*] that, after the capture of Troy, great cruelty was practised against all the other Trojans; that the Greeks refrained from exercising the full right of war against two, Æneas and Antenor, both on account of a tie of long established hospitality, and because these had been always advocates for peace, and the restoration of Helen;—afterwards with fortunes differing from one another, that Antenor, with a large body of Hænetians, who, in an insurrection driven out of Paphlagonia, were in search of a settlement and a leader, having lost at Troy their king Pylæmenes, arrived at the innermost bay of the Adriatic Sea.

From CICERO DE AMICITIA.

1. Q. Mucius, the augur, used to relate a number of anecdotes concerning his father-in-law, C. Lælius, from memory, and in a pleasant vein, and not to hesitate in giving him the appellation of *wise* throughout his whole discourse. Moreover, I myself had been introduced to Scævola, by my father, in such a way, that as far as I was able and was permitted, I never left the old man's side. Accordingly, I committed to memory many of his sage disquisitions, many, too, of his short and pointed apothegms, and I made it my study to extend my information by this wisdom.

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